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Alia Receives French Foreign Affairs Secretary

AU0308190091 Tirana ATA in English 0822 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA) - Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, received at his seat the secretary of state for foreign affairs of France, Alain Vivien.

After expressing his pleasure to meet with the French guest, President Ramiz Alia spoke of the traditions of friendship between the two peoples. Our patriots of renaissance, were inspired by the ideas of the French revolution, said he. President Ramiz Alia laid the stress on the need of strengthening cooperation in different fields, particularly in that of culture. The processes of democratization in our country, he said, call for qualified cadres and specialists equipped with contemporary knowledge in order to cope with the great tasks in the future. In this direction France may help Albania by training specialists, even in the field of legislation, etc.

President Ramiz Alia said that there is no solution to the Yugoslav crisis without the correct solution of the problems of the Albanians residing in their territories in Yugoslavia. The rights of three million Albanians in Yugoslavia, he said, should be defended in compliance with CSCE norms. We are for a peaceful and democratic solution, said President Ramiz Alia.

On his part, Mr. Alain Vivien said that for many years we have had no satisfactory relations, but the recent developments in Albania have drawn the attention of the French opinion. He expressed the readiness to further develop and strengthen the relations between the two countries. Further on, he said that we support Albania for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis and expressed the readiness of France to work together with Albania in this direction.

President Ramiz Alia asked him to convey to the President of France Mitterand his greetings and expressed Albania's desire to strengthen the relations and cooperation with France. I am convinced that the relations of Albania with France will promote and will be fruitful, he said .

The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Likewise, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of France Alain Vivien was received at separate meetings by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ylli Bufi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Muhamet Kapllani and the Minister of Education Maqo Lakrori .

The secretary of state for foreign affairs of France, Alain Vivien left our country on August 2.

Alia Receives Kosovo Party Leader Veton Surroi

AU0408153891 Tirana ATA in English 0802 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 4 (ATA)—The president of the Republic, Ramiz Alia, met on August 3 with the chairman of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo, Veton Surroi. During the meeting they talked on the democratic developments in Albania, the critical situation in Yugoslavia and the dangers threatening Kosovo.

Recently, the president underlined, especially after the conflicts in the northern republics of the Yugoslav federation, the situation in Kosovo, which we are closely following, has become tense. The Serbs are trying to provoke the Albanians. Therefore care should be shown not to fall into the traps.

The president assessed as a significant act the cooperation of the political forces of Kosovo in these critical moments. This, he said, shows that the national cause stands above all.

On his part, Veton Surroi informed of the further deepening of the crisis in Yugoslavia and the efforts of the Albanian politicians, intellectuals and people in Kosovo and elsewhere to cope with the tasks they are facing today for the defence of the legitimate rights of the Albanian population.

The meeting was evaluated as fruitful and fraternal.

Bufi Receives Surroi

AU0408154091 Tirana ATA in English 0806 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 4 (ATA)—On August 3, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, received in the prime minister's seat the chairman of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo, Veton Surroi. During the meeting they spoke of the democratic developments in Albania, the application of the economic reform and the present crisis in Yugoslavia.

After speaking of the commitment of new pluralistic government for the country's stability, the Premier Ylli Bufi dwelt upon the process of privatisation of the economy, agriculture, the hammering out of the legislation, the work performed for its application in the town and countryside, etc.

Regarding the foreign policy, the premier Ylli Bufi said that it is open and active for Albania's integration into the European family. The Albanian Government, he said further on, follows with worry the events in Yugoslavia and underlined that, without the solution of the problem of the Albanians living in their own territories in Yugoslavia, there can be no solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Speaking of the situation in Kosovo, the chairman of the Parliamentary Party, Veton Surroi, underlined that it is

extremely tense and it might lead to further aggravations. To this end, he said, the people of Kosovo are ready to cope with even more dangerous situations.

The reception passed in a warm and fraternal atmosphere.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets CSFR Counterpart

AU0308191191 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA) - On August 2, official negotiations were conducted between the Albanian delegation, headed by Ilir Bocka, deputy foreign minister and the delegation of the Federal Czech and Slovak Republic, headed by the Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenjek Matejka.

These negotiations concentrated mainly on the bilateral relations, whose further development was considered valuable. Despite the difficulties our two countries are coping with in this period of transition, the sides were of the opinion that possibilities exist to further enhance the level of economic-trade exchanges, applying the contemporary forms as joint ventures, investments of capitals, etc. In this context the preparation and reaching of some agreements, as that for economic, industrial and technical cooperation, for the protection of investments etc, was considered of interest.

The talks on international problems focused on the present European processes, the relations with neighbours and latest developments in Yugoslavia. Regarding the Yugoslav crisis the parties found a convergence of viewpoints and expressed the opinion that their peaceful and democratic solution is to the interest of all the peoples residing in Yugoslavia.

On the same day, the agreement on lifting the visas for the diplomatic and duty passports was signed at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. For the Albanian side, the agreement was signed by the foreign deputy minister, Ilir Bocka and for the Czechoslovak party by his counterpart, Zdenjek Matejla. The agreement enters into force on October 1,1991.

Islami Meets With European Parliamentarians

AU0408161391 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 4 (ATA)—On August 3, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania Dr. Kastriot Islami, in continuation of his stay in Switzerland, had a meeting with the first vice president of the People's Assembly of France, Mr. Andre Billardon. During the talk, they discussed also on the need of a further increase of the relations between the parliaments of the two countries, the exchange of experts and specialists, who are necessary at present, when the new constitution and many laws are under way. Besides, they exchanged opinions also on the situation in Yugoslavia.

Dr. Kastriot Islami had also a short talk with the president of the Bundestag of the German Republic, Mrs. Rita Suessmuth. During the talk on this occasion, opinions were exchanged on the aid the German Parliament may give through specialists, experts and respective literature. The president of Bundestag pointed out there is not any obstacle for the development of relations between the two countries not only in the parliamentary field, but in the economic, technical-scientific one, etc. They exchanged also opinions on the situation in Yugoslavia.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly had meetings and talks also with the president of the first chamber of the Dutch Parliament, Mr. Herman Williuik; with the president of the Sejm of Poland, Mr. Mikolaj Kozakiewiecz, and with the president of the Finnish Parliament, Mr. Eka Suominen.

ATA Reviews 2 Aug Council of Ministers Actions

AU0308193691 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA) - In its meeting of August 2, 1991, the Council of Ministers examined some of the draft laws to be forwarded to the People's Assembly. It discussed on the draft law for sanctioning and and defence of private ownership, the free initiative and independent private activities, the draft law for social assistance for the unemployed due to the application of economic reform, the draft law for advocacy in the Republic of Albania, the draft law for a supplement to the law "on the main constitutional provisions" which grants the right to the government to issue decrees in urgent cases, the draft law for the adherence to the Republic of Albania to the international pact on the civic and political rights and the international pact for economic, social and cultural rights.

At this meeting the Council of Ministers adopted also some decisions. It adopted the decision for a 25 per cent increase of the existing minimum pensions of all sorts of workers, employees and cooperativists. The minimum invalidism pensions too and the family ones increases at the same scale.

In its meeting the Council of Ministers also endorsed the decision to record real properties in cities, the decision for the creation of the Albanian-Italian joint enterprise (UPEM) that will tackle with the extraction, processing of marbles and decorative stones in Muhur, Dibra district, the decision to increase the emiting of coin, the decision to protect and guarantee the government residences and other objects of government service department, the decision that the "Enver Hoxha" museum be administered by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, etc.

People's Assembly Discusses Draft Law on Amnesty

AU0408193091 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 4 (ATA)—In the sitting of August 3 the People's Assembly continued the discussion on the draft-law "On the Amnesty of the Political Prisoners."

The deputies underlined among other things that this amnesty should include all those who have really fought for democracy and exclude those who have committed crimes against the people both during the war and after the country's liberation. Deputies of the DP [Democratic Party] were for innocence be asserted to by the People's Assembly, whereas deputies of the SP [Socialist Party] were of the opinion that for the innocence it is up to the courts to decide upon, but they should be stripped of the hitherto practices of their work. [sentence as received] The economic aid and social and moral support for the former political prisoners was as well in the center of the discussions.

Many deputies of the DP and SP demanded the abrogation of the laws on agitation and propaganda, illegal crossing of the border and offence of the senior state officials. The Assembly decided to set up a commission on abrogating these laws.

Likewise various deputies of the SP and DP made an appeal that the assembly recognize the Republic of Kosovo.

The People's Assembly will continue its proceedings on Monday afternoon.

Transportation Agreement Signed With Bulgaria

AU0308192591 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA) - The agreement on the passengers and goods motor road transport between the Government of the Republic of Albania and Government of the Republic of Bulgaria was signed in Sofia. The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by the minister of transports, Fatos Bitincka and for the Bulgarian side by Veselin Pavllov.

The protocol on the activities of Sofia-Tirana air line and Sofia-Pogradec-Tirana motor road line was also signed.

Attending the signing ceremony were the delegations of the two countries as well as journalists and representatives of the press. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Albania in Bulgaria, Bashkim Rama.

Text of New Land Law Published 23 Jul

AU0108200091 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Jul 91 pp 1-2

["Established by Laws That Must Be Recognized and Enforced: Land Law"; signed in Tirana, 19 July]

[Text] On the basis of Article 16 of Law No. 7,491 of 29 May 1991, "On the Main Constitutional Provisions," and on the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania decrees:

Article 1

In the Republic of Albania, the land is divided into:

a) Agricultural land used for arable crops, orchards, vineyards, and olive groves, wherever they may be, in villages, towns, and other settlements regardless of their size.

b) Land occupied by forests, pastures, and meadows.

c) Nonagricultural land occupied by economic, social, and cultural premises, military units and their premises, dwelling houses and their surrounding yards, land in general use (roads, highways, airports, railroads, squares, parks, flower gardens, sports fields, cemeteries); rocky areas, coastal sand and beaches; land under water (lakes, reservoirs, swimming pools); waterways of various kinds, rivers, streams, sandbanks, and marshland; land occupied by buildings and monuments of historical and archaeological interest, etc.

Article 2

The state grants land to physical and juridical persons. They enjoy the right of property and all the rights contained in this law.

The purchase and sale of land is forbidden.

Article 3

Agricultural land is granted as the property of or for the use of juridical or physical persons of this country without payment.

Article 4

Foreign juridical or physical persons are granted land for building purposes against rent. The purpose and time limit of land use are defined by specific contracts.

Land rent is calculated on the basis of the purpose of its use, the site, and other economic conditions, according to criteria laid down by the Council of Ministers.

Article 5

After the distribution of land, families who are members of cooperatives have the right to leave the cooperative and establish themselves as owners in their own right, taking as their property the agricultural land due to them as members of the body to which they have belonged.

The Land Commission decides the amount and site of the land to be granted to them.

In hilly and mountainous areas, where rural families cannot be guaranteed the necessary area of agricultural land, the state takes measures and guarantees additional sources of subsistence through subsidies, increased investment for employment, the introduction of social assistance, and the controlled movement of the population, on the basis of a program drawn up by the Council of Ministers.

Article 6

Families resident in the countryside who are not members of agricultural cooperatives and families who live and work in agricultural enterprises are granted agricultural land for their use, in amounts decided by a decree of the Council of Ministers.

Article 7

The Government Land Commission under the Ministry of Agriculture, land commissions under the executive committees of the district people's councils, and land commissions under the people's councils of villages are created in order to grant land for ownership or use, as well as to eliminate the irregularities that have recently occurred.

The rights and duties of these commissions are defined by a decree of the Council of Ministers.

Article 8

Neither former ownership nor the amount or boundaries of land owned before collectivization are recognized in the granting of land as the property of or for the use of physical or juridical persons.

Article 9

The land registry of the executive committee of the district people's council is recognized as the state body specializing in the documentation of data concerning land.

Article 10

Land which passes into the ownership or use of physical or juridical persons is registered at the land registry.

Any factual change made after the initial registration is also registered at the land registry.

Article 11

Juridical or physical persons who possess agricultural land or take it into their ownership or use are obliged to use it for agricultural purposes and to increase its productive capacity, to maintain it, and to construct the means to protect it.

Article 12

Owners and users of agricultural land are obliged to maintain irrigation and hydroelectric equipment and installations. No owner or user has the right to hinder any other owner or user's use of such equipment and installations.

Local and district state authorities have the right to settle disputes that may arise.

Article 13

Dwelling houses, buildings for economic, social, and cultural buildings, and structures of all kinds are built within the boundary line (the yellow line).

Land for construction (building lots) is granted with or without payment according to criteria defined by the Council of Ministers.

Any kind of building on agricultural land beyond the boundary line is prohibited without a special permit from the relevant responsible authority.

The total value of a building includes the value of the land.

Article 14

The construction of buildings and installations for agricultural and stock-raising purposes is permitted on agricultural land, according to regulations laid down by the Council of Ministers.

Article 15

Any juridical or physical person who is granted land for use and does not use it for agricultural or stockraising purposes within one year is deprived of the right to use this land.

Article 16

Juridical or physical persons who acquire land for their ownership or use for construction or other economic purposes, when construction work is not completed according to the agreed deadline, are liable to pay a sum equal to one year's average rent for the land.

Article 17

Industrial and mining waste and water containing chemicals harmful to agriculture must be collected or channeled in special places in order not to damage the land and vegetation, not pollute the water, and not pose a danger to the lives of people, animals, and birds. These places are approved at the same time as the approval of the construction lot. Otherwise, the project cannot be built and cannot function.

It is forbidden to throw away or bury any dangerous home-produced or imported waste matter.

Article 18

With the approval of construction plans and building lots, land passes into the ownership or use of the person for whom the building work is being carried out, but no earlier than three months before work starts. The change is entered in the land registry when work starts.

Article 19

Agricultural land may be removed from the ownership or use of juridical or physical persons when construction work of various kinds is required for vital needs of the state, subject to the approval of the relevant authority. When land under the ownership or use of juridical and physical persons is claimed for these purposes, the state is obliged to provide land of equal value elsewhere, or, if this is not possible, to pay compensation for investments that have been made and for the real value of the land. Disputes over the amount of compensation are settled by the courts.

Article 20

Compensation for damage caused to orchards, olive groves, vineyards, and agricultural crops on premises used for economic, social, and cultural purposes, etc. is paid by whoever causes the damage. The amount of compensation is decided by the executive committee of the district people's council according to the real value of the damage.

Disputes over the amount of compensation are settled by the courts.

Article 21

Local authority bodies with the relevant jurisdiction forbid any occupation or misuse of land under their jurisdiction that contravenes this law and its relevant subsidiary bylaws.

If any occupation of or damage to land is observed, the members of the people's council of the relevant jurisdiction, land owners or users, land registry or planning department employees, and members of the People's Police are obliged to compile a report, on whose basis the culprit is obliged to return the land to its former state within three days. Otherwise, the report is sent:

—To the people's councils of the village, city district, city, or region, who make a decision within two days for the demolition of the structure and the return of the land to its former state. This decision is enforced by the body that makes it within five days of its issue. Expenses incurred in returning the land to its former state are charged to the culprit.

—To the office of the land registry for administrative measures, when the violation does not constitute a criminal offense.

—To the investigator's office, when the violation constitutes a criminal offense and the decision of the relevant people's council has not been enforced.

Article 22

When land is seized, occupied, or damaged by a third person, its owner or user has the right to turn to the courts.

Article 23

Persons who act in contravention of the provisions of this law or the special provisions of the decrees of the Council of Ministers concerning this problem, who do not themselves make use of land granted as their property or for their use but give it to third persons, who do not maintain the land, who build without permission, who fail to reclaim land within the period defined by contract, and those who fail without good reason to inform the land registry of changes in the state of land they own or use, when such behavior does not constitute a criminal offense, are subject to a fine of 2,000-5,000 leks for an administrative misdemeanor, payable to the district land registry.

Appeals may be lodged against this fine within 10 days after it is announced or the culprit is informed of it. Appeals are made to the executive committee of the district people's council, whose decision is final.

Article 24

The Council of Ministers lays down criteria for the distribution, registration, alteration, property transfer, evaluation, and renting of land, and defines the duties of the land registry.

Article 25

Agricultural land that becomes property under this law is inherited on the basis of the dispositions of the law on inheritance.

Article 26

Law No. 5,686 dated 21 February 1987, "On the Protection of Land," and all other bylaws that contradict this law are annulled.

Article 27

This law takes effect immediately.

Tirana, 19 July 1991. Law No. 7,501.

[signed] Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic.

Reportage on Kapllani's Visit to Turkey

WA0208151091

For Turkish reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani to Turkey, including reports on his talks with Turkish President Turgut Ozal and Foreign Minister Safa Giray, see the Turkey section of the 31 July West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Zhelev, Popov Commemorate Ilinden Uprising

AU0208182391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] In the St. Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral in Sofia today, Archbishop Antoniy officiated at a requiem in honor of those who fell in the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising. The requiem was attended by President of the Republic Zhelyu Zhelev, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, and Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the National Assembly. Others present included Docent Gotsev, chairman of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies, and representatives of the political parties and the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion.

Later, wreaths were laid at the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier in Sofia on behalf of the Presidency, the National Assembly, the Macedonian Societies, and the Bulgarian Antifascist Union.

Vulkov Reaffirms Position on SFRY Crisis

AU0308201091 Sofia BTA in English 1923 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)—"Bulgaria has no territorial claims on Yugoslavia and does not intend to intervene in its home affairs. We support the democratic developments in Yugoslavia and in the individual Yugoslav republics. We stand up for a negotiated solution to the crisis through a democratic dialogue in which the Yugoslav peoples themselves will decide the future of their country," Mr. Viktor Vulkov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, said on the national television tonight. Mr. Vulkov said that Yugoslavia is constantly misinterpreting the otherwise clear-cut Bulgaria's position.

In answer to a question Mr. Vulkov said that Bulgaria has its own interests in Macedonia, deriving from well-known historic and ethnic realities, but this does not mean that Bulgaria has any territorial claims on Macedonia.

Bulgaria will continue to change its position, as do all the other countries, according to the developments in Yugoslavia, Mr. Vulkov said.

Government To Relieve 17 Senior Military Officers

AU0208155691 Sofia BTA in English 1511 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—A decree is being drawn up under which 17 high-ranking Bulgarian military officers will be relieved of their posts. Fifteen of them have already been relieved of active service, President's Spokesman Valentin Stoyanov told journalists today.

35 high-ranking military officers have been appointed to new posts. 27 officers have been promoted. The decree will come out in the near future.

Bulgaria's vice president, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, was relieved of active service at his own request by a decree of July 30. The Board of the Ministry of Defence has decided to relieve of their posts all generals up to the rank of lieutenant general who are over 61, and colonel generals over 62. "Under the circumstances I believe it was my duty to give up active service," 68-year-old Mr. Semerdzhiev explains in today's "DUMA."

Bulgarian generals will probably retire at 60 in the future, under a bill submitted to the government by the Ministry of Defence. For the time being, the ministry opted for a gradual lowering of retirement age because a large number of people are concerned, Vice President Semerdzhiev assumes in "DUMA."

Finance Minister on Reasons for Price Rises

AU0208141691 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Kostov, Bulgaria's minister of finance, said that the current rise in prices is due to the production structure of agriculture which is inefficient, labour consuming and wasteful. Moreover, deception and theft are not unknown. At the present moment agricultural producers are trying to cover productive expenditure by raising prices.

"In the past eight months we did nothing to change this structure," Mr. Kostov said on the national radio today.

Mr. Kostov claimed that the government had been unable to exercise price control.

The finance minister stressed that many of the political forces create illusions among the people that from now on the country will pursue only a way up. "Illusions are quite out of place," Mr. Kostov said.

"There are opportunities for economic stabilization and settling things but this could be achieved only through the establishment of new organizations. A system cannot be changed for 180 days only. We have never lied to anyone that the reform will be quick, easy and that it will have an overnight success. We should tell this openly to the people," Mr. Kostov added.

Mr. Kostov said that he disapproves of the policy of "gloomy predictions," which reminds the people of last year's crisis. "We should try, as we have been advised, to inspire confidence in the Bulgarian people," Mr. Kostov said.

Government Announces Action on Price Increases

AU0308140791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] We have already reported the government's special meeting in connection with the sharp rises in the prices of essential goods. I will now read the full text of

the announcement that we received a short while ago from the Press Center of the Council of Ministers.

The meeting of the government analyzed the situation that had arisen and established that the announced prices are speculative and unjustified on economic grounds. The imposition of these prices upon consumers will destroy the equilibrium of the market, cause uncontrollable inflation, and further worsen the situation of the Bulgarian family.

The main reasons for the increase in prices over and above the minimum purchase prices fixed by the government are expectations of inflation, ineffective expenditures maintained by producers, and attempts at speculation on the part of purchasing and processing organizations enjoying monopolies, states the announcement.

The announcement also states:

A government working group, consisting of Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Ministers Ivan Kostov, Ivan Pushkarov, Boris Spirov, Atanas Paparizov, and Emiliya Maslarova; and government experts and specialists, is preparing a program of action, without departing from market principles and without using an administrative approach. The program will be adopted by a Council of Ministers decree on Monday, 5 August.

The program will fix an estimated purchasing price for bread grain of 1,100 leva per tonne. The estimated retail prices are: for a Dobrudzha loaf, 2.95 leva; pork, 22 leva per kg; veal, 25.80 leva per kg; chicken meat, 19.80 leva per kg; lamb, 24.40 leva per kg; Debeshki salami, 29.50 leva per kg; Hamburger salami, 24 leva per kg; Frankfurter sausages, 26 leva per kg; and Nadenitsa sausages, 25.30 leva per kg. These estimated prices are calculated on the basis of reasonable levels of profitability and trade allowances.

The state guarantees the sale of grain for the production of bread at the estimated price, which is entirely guaranteed through imports if necessary. A ban is imposed on the export of wheat for bread and animal feed until the next harvest. The tax allowances, special credit facilities, subsidies, and price supplements, provided under the decrees of the Council of Ministers now in force, will be available only to those who buy and sell at prices below the estimated levels listed above.

The Cereal Foods and Fodder Industry Economic Trust is being reorganized into limited liability companies and joint stock companies. It is planned to set up a grain fund for the state regulation of grain production and consumption.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry is charged with the task of setting up a commodity exchange for grain and meat. The meat plants and dairy enterprises are to be converted into single-person [ednolichni] commercial companies with state property.

The program is aimed against inflation and against the attempts to halt the economic reform and violate social peace, states the full text of the announcement.

Ludzhev Expects 'Shock Privatization'

AU0408163491 Sofia BTA in English 1547 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—There will be shock privatization and "massive support from the private sector," Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, Bulgaria's deputy prime minister, said on the national radio today. "This will be the reaction provoked by the opposition to the economic reform".

Mr. Ludzhev, Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, and Mr. Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, believe that the price rise was implemented "at a signal" and that it was "the last attempt of the old structures to block the economic reform."

Mr. Ludzhev said that it was not by chance that prices surged just before the party conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). Mr. Kostov added that the resistance of the lower-level economic management was felt from the very beginning of the reform. According to Mr. Kostov, this level is controlled by officials connected with the BSP (former Bulgarian Communist Party). "This was an act directed against the reform," Mr. Kostov said, referring to the rise in prices.

Mr. Kostov said that things had been brought under control and Mr. Ludzhev said that the government is not weak.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions pledged its support for the principles of the economic reform on the national television last night.

BSP National Conference To Adopt Platform

AU0208123491 Sofia BTA in English 1055 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—The Socialists will fight for their victory in the elections with closed ranks, Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) said today on opening the BSP national conference in Sofia.

We will run in the elections united and not torn apart by internal feuds like some other political forces, Mr. Lilov said setting forth the main motto of BSP's election campaign, "Unity and Change, Change and Unity".

The message of the leader of BSP is probably addressed to the radical-minded circles within BSP rather than to the "political forces torn by feuds." The BSP radicals do not conceal their ambition for changes in the party leadership.

By the way, the national conference would hardly offer any surprises to this effect, judging by the fact alone that its presiding body is made up by representatives of the

Socialist delegates from the provinces who support the present BSP leadership, as a delegate from Sofia who insisted on changes stated on the opening of the forum.

But he was interrupted by clapping of hands. BSP Deputy Chairman Andrey Lukanov who is chairing the conference said that it would be inexpedient to revive the practice of the latest congresses for a proportional representation of the delegates depending on their place of residence. Now we know who and how many we are, Mr. Lukanov said.

The delegates elected unanimously the presiding body of the conference which includes BSP Chairman Aleksandur Lilov, the deputy chairmen of the BSP, BSP parliamentary faction leader Nora Ananieva and Yanaki Stoilov, first deputy chairman of BSP's central election staff.

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov and the Socialist ministers are also attending the conference. It was opened with 524 delegates, another 100 delegates are expected to take part in it, having failed to come from the provinces on time to attend its opening.

The conference will adopt the election platform of the BSP, Mr. Lilov announced. He declared himself to be for a "competition of ideas and alternatives for Bulgaria's present and future," pointing out that the opponents in the election campaign should not use it to blacken each other. The BSP leader confirmed the priorities of his party: safeguarding civil peace, social justice and democracy for all, stating that this is what the socialists will stand up for sincerely, realistically and responsibly in the election campaign. He underlined that the elections must be free, democratic and fair to achieve the goal they are intended for.

With one-minute silence the delegates commemorated the Bulgarians from Thracia and Macedonia who died fighting for freedom in the 1903 Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising the anniversary of which is marked all over the country today.

Journalists were allowed to attend only the opening of the conference after which they were invited to leave the hall. When objections were raised that the sessions of the two previous congresses had been open for the press, a representative of the conference press centre said, "Now too few things will be as they used to be before."

BSP To Seek Election Partners

AU0208170391 Sofia BTA in English 1559 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) will try to win the forthcoming general and local elections. At a press conference today following the opening of a two-day national conference at which the Socialists will discuss and adopt an election platform, it was said that the BSP will not be averse to a coalition with other parties and social structures. The Socialists explained that it is not a matter of seeking ideological partners but rather of establishing political cooperation.

Mr. Lyubomir Kyuchukov, BSP deputy chairman, failed to explain to the press the present ideological orientation of his party. According to him, it will be inappropriate to seek a label for the party, although there have already been a few suggestions: social democratic, Eurocommunist, etc. Mr. Zakhari Zakhariev, one of the BSP radicals, said that the emphasis should be put on the party's national character and on its desire to solve specific social problems.

Mr. Zakhariev said that it was wrong to expect the party to change automatically by changing its name (it was formerly called Bulgarian Communist Party). "It is very difficult," Mr. Kyuchukov said.

The BSP radicals have submitted their own draft platform at the conference. It became clear that the official platform would hardly be voted through in its present form. The "dissident" delegates are 13 per cent of the total number of delegates, but according to some of the participants in the press conference, including Mr. Kyuchukov, this will not be an obstacle for introducing substantial changes into the election document.

Ms. Velislava Dureva, a popular radical (more so after the DUMA daily of the BSP published her interview with former Number One Todor Zhivkov some time ago), denied the announcement broadcast on the national television last night. According to it, the radicals had distanced themselves from Mr. Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the BSP. He has been severely criticized in the last few months by the opposition in connection with his activity in the higher echelon of power in Todor Zhivkov's time and for his work as prime minister after November 10, 1989.

Mr. Zakhari Zakhariev said that the BSP should be ready to assume power after its election victory. The BSP should not repeat Mr. Andrey Lukanov's mistake and lose time seeking a coalition.

Before the beginning of the conference, high-ranking party leaders repeatedly explained that it will not discuss personnel problems concerning the top-level leadership. They will be on the agenda of the party congress after the elections.

Lilov Views BSP Conference

AU0308200891 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 3 Aug 91

["BSP Conference: 'Intolerance to Stereotypes' and Socialist Alternative"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (Boyko Borisov and Ognyan Branichev of BTA)—According to Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the election platform of his party is characterized by realism and pragmatism. Moreover, the programme is addressed

to the greater part of the Bulgarian people and is easy to transform into a government programme.

At a press conference following the end of the BSP national conference Mr. Lilov described the atmosphere at the forum as "intolerance to stereotypes and cliches." He expressed his satisfaction at the substantial changes which, according to him, had taken place in the BSP and said that "party reformers really exist" and that "high spirit and professionalism" had turned the conference into a party's think-tank.

Among the "hopelessly outdated" stereotypes, according to Mr. Lilov, is "welfare," the BSP key political slogan from last year. Mr. Lilov said that the party had put an end to empty rhetoric and proposes a good platform and serious candidates which will be nominated by both the BSP members and by the voters on a democratic principle. The platform is a socialist alternative for the most painful problems of the Bulgarian people.

Today Mr. Lilov did not use one of his favourite phrases: "our party," which may be explained with the intolerance to stereotypes that was bred at the party conference.

From an economic point of view, Socialists place an emphasis on providing production incentives to overcome the present "colossal" decline, as former Premier Andrey Lukanov put it. Mr. Lukanov criticized the monetary stage of the reform and said that the Socialists would seek to revive domestic demand, solve the problems of state company's big debts, ease the tax burden for all companies, promote export and work out a comprehensive agricultural policy.

The conference adopted a decision confirming the BSP's readiness to hand "the bulk of its property over to the state." However, Socialists said that the fate of their Sofia headquarters would be decided later, at the next party congress. Mr. Lukanov said that the party's readiness to relinquish its property is very much dependent on the problem of the financial situation of the parties and with the "growing," according to him, external financial assistance for some Bulgarian parties which he described as "unacceptable influence and even intervention in Bulgaria's political life."

Integration into Europe, good relations with the Soviet Union and the United States, constructive relations with the Balkan countries, efforts to maintain the level of contacts with the former socialist countries, prompt adoption of external policy and military doctrines at state level to avoid "dangerous improvizations," these are the main characteristics of the BSP foreign policy according to Mr. Lukanov.

In answer to a question Mr. Lilov denied today's allegations by Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, that the BSP "seeks to postpone the elections." Ms. Nora Ananieva, leader of the BSP parliamentary faction, said that the BSP had always insisted that the elections be held in September.

The BSP leaders confirmed earlier statements of a possible election cooperation with political forces "committed to the values of democracy." The BSP declined to name the extraparliamentary parties which had sought association with it.

In answer to a question it was said that the BSP has 502,000 members.

Lilov Speaks at BSP Centennial Celebration

AU0408183891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] celebrated its centennial at the Buzludzha peak in the Balkan Mountains today. [passage omitted]

Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, delivered an address. He pointed out that the Bulgarian Socialists not only celebrated victories but suffered defeats in the 100 years of its existence. Our history was marked not only by bright days, but also by dramatic events, he added. [passage omitted].

After repeating the slogan of the BSP: National consensus—Bulgaria above all and for all, Aleksandur Lilov said the following in conclusion:

[Begin Lilov recording] Buzludzha is not only a symbol of our beginning, but also a source of inspiration for us today. From this pure source we shall continue to draw our confidence, faith, courage, resilience, and our lofty moral virtues, so that we may further pursue the immortal cause of the socialist ideas in Bulgaria.

New generations will come, and Bulgaria and the entire world will undergo unbelievable changes which many of us may not live to see. However, as long as there is one Socialist left in our country, the path leading to this memorable spot, to the sacred Buzludzha rock, shall never be obliterated.

Let us devote all our efforts to the implementation of Socialist ideas. Let us wish the future young generations of Socialists courage and indomitable spirit in devoloping and defending the Socialist ideas and values. [end recording].

United Agrarian Union Conference Resolution

AU0208145991 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 29 Jul p 1

[Resolution of the National Conference on Agrarian Unity, adopted in Sofia on 27 July 1991]

[Text] After hearing the report of the National Committee on Agrarian Unity and the speeches by allied agrarians, the National Conference on Agrarian Unity decided:

1. To announce the unification of the allied agrarians from the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian National Agrarian

Union [BZNS], the BZNS, and the Vrabcha-I BZNS into the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—United;

2. To adopt, until the congress, a provisional Statute and Program Declaration (program) of the BZNS—United;

3. The provisional governing organs of the union are to fulfill the following tasks:

3.1. To work to attract all Agrarians and champions of the agrarian idea to the BZNS-United;

3.2. To win recognition for the organization as a main political force for the final elimination of the communist totalitarian system and the establishment of the rule of the people in Bulgaria, in cooperation with the democratic parties, organizations, and movements.

3.3. To develop a platform, strategy, and tactics for participating in the upcoming elections.

3.4. To organize the preparations for and the conduct of a congress of the BZNS-United.

Sofia, 27 July 1991.

Monarchists Meet Ex-King Simeon in Madrid

AU0208170591 Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Madrid, August 2 (BTA)—The setting up of the Kingdom of Bulgaria Confederation, which united all registered monarchist organizations and movements, occasioned a meeting between Bulgarian Monarchists and King Simeon II, who lives in Madrid.

They discussed the objectives of the confederation at the king's home. King Simeon was told that the confederation has set itself the task to restore the Turnovo Constitution (Bulgaria's first constitution) and the monarchy in Bulgaria.

King Simeon II showed great interest in the confederation and "praised this highly patriotic deed," as Mr. Zhurnalov told BTA.

The Bulgarian Monarchists pointed out that the "Spanish variant" has proved "the unifying non-partisan role of the monarchy which can inspire confidence and hopes in the Bulgarian people."

BTA Roundup Reports Kozloduy 'Spots' Cleanup

AU0208192091 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—Bulgaria is celebrating today the 88th anniversary of the Uprising on St. Iliya's and Transfiguration Day [Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising]. President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and leaders of political parties laid flowers at the grave of the unknown warrior this morning.

President Zhelev will meet with representatives of the press next week, the president's spokesman said today. Dr. Zhelev has been approached with many requests for interviews in connection with his first year as president.

A conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party started in Sofia today. It is attended by equal numbers of rank-and-file delegates and apparatchiks. Personnel changes are not expected. The Socialists will approve their election platform. Today's "SVOBODEN NAROD," the daily of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, carries the party's election platform. The Social Democrats declare that they "focus on the interests of the ordinary working Bulgarian."

Parliament did not use today's sitting to any good purpose. The MP's did not even vote on the agenda. They only exchanged recriminations and attacked one another.

At a news conference this afternoon Mr. Urwin Ashley, leader of the OSART mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency which has been studying the problems of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, did not commit himself to a categorical statement about its safety. Mr. Yordan Yordanov, chief of the Safety Department of the Bulgarian State Committee on Power Engineering, said that the three radioactively contaminated spots which had appeared recently in the area of the plant have been cleaned up and made completely harmless.

The Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions at the enterprises of the lead-and-zinc complex demand a moratorium on the government's decision to close down lead production at the Plovdiv-based nonferrous metal works. Workers at the companies in Plovdiv, Kurdzhali, Madan and Pazardzhik will go on a lock-in until their demand is fulfilled.

The "Do You Remember Prague, My Friend?" Initiative launched by the private-owned "REPORTER 7" weekly was supported today by the leaders of the Defence Ministry and by Defence Minister Yordan Mutafchiev, according to a statement of the spokesman of the ministry's Press Centre broadcast on the national radio this morning. "REPORTER 7" announced its initiative in connection with Prague-1968 ten days ago. Military officers and soldiers will relate their memories of the invasion in Czechoslovakia by the Bulgarian Army together with the troops of the CMEA [CEMA] member countries in 1968.

After six months of work, a special inquiry commission estimated the property of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth (BDY)—successor of the Komsomol—at 350 million leva at pre-reform prices. According to the commission's chairman, Mr. Yuriy Stoyanov, the former Komsomol's property belongs to the state and should be returned to all young people in Bulgaria. The BDY leaders are disputing his view.

BTA 3 Aug Roundup Cites Lev Revaluation

AU0308175091 Sofia BTA in English 1611 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Council of ministers approved a debt swap procedure. However, negotiations on such a procedure could be started only after the passage of the privatization bill. "The delayed privatization strangles economy," Mr. Mileti Mladenov, deputy governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria, said in "BULGARSKI BIZNES."

Fifty per cent of the Bulgarians live below the social minimum. The prices of bread and pastry have risen by an average of 96 percent, it was said at the cabinet meeting. The Council of Ministers adopted an anti-inflationary programme.

The Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the political forces attacked the government for the surge in prices. The economic policy of the government was criticized by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) as well. Today, however, Social Democrats disappointed with the policy of the party's leadership and demanding that an extraordinary congress be convened accused the BSDP leaders of populism.

A new committee was set up today calling for an extraordinary congress of the Green Party. The committee resents the fact that the Green Party signed the Constitution and established the SDS-Liberals. It defends the SDS unity and supports the policy line of the SDS national leadership which represents the "resolute" opposition.

Two parties: the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) mark their 100 anniversaries. The parties have common roots.

As from August 15 the lev/transferable rouble coefficient will increase from 3.5 to 7. This governmental decision is aimed at covering Bulgaria's trade deficit with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. "It will stimulate agricultural producers to export non-durables," Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, says in "24 CHASA."

Mr. Paparizov said that, according to his experts, Bulgaria's trade surplus with the Soviet Union is expected to reach 400 million by the end of this year, "24 CHASA" writes.

World Bank Grants $250 Million Restructuring Loan

AU0208202491 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Washington, August 2 (BTA)—The Board of Executive Directors of the World Bank announced that it had granted Bulgaria a 250-million-dollar loan for economic restructuring.

The executive directors said that they had been impressed by the resolve of the Bulgarian Government to proceed with its comprehensive reform programme under the present extraordinary conditions.

It was stressed that the programme of the Bulgarian Government deserves an even greater support on the part of the creditors. The executive directors supported the desire of the Bulgarian Government that a meeting of the consultative group on loans be held.

Some of the participants at the board's meeting expressed the hope that the Bulgarian Government would continue to successfully implement privatization and banking reform measures.

It was pointed out that the most important problem after the signing of the loan agreement would be whether the Bulgarian Government would be able to distribute the funds quickly. In this respect, it would be advisable to start the necessary arrangements as soon as possible.

Mr. Philip Nouvel [name as received], director for Eastern Europe at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, congratulated the Bulgarian Government and assured it that the close cooperation would continue.

Calfa on Federation Issues, Dubcek, Carnogursky

AU0208115291 Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech 30 Jul 91 p 4

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Jakub Cisar; place and date not given: "Breaking Up the Federation Would Be Fatal"]

[Text] [Cisar] The Public Against Violence [VPN] Movement has recently tilted—on the Czech political scene—toward the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Civic Democratic Alliance. Can this shift be evaluated as a shift toward the right and, in your opinion, what is the reason for this change?

[Calfa] Of course, every political movement and party undergoes some development. The VPN is currently—and unquestionably—the only political movement in Slovakia that does not insert an intense and powerful national charge into every issue. This atrophies all issues and is dominant both in economic reform and in the operation of any political mechanism. I think that by not inserting this dominant national charge, the movement is beginning to move closer to the parties on the Czech political scene that also do not have this kind of charge in their policy. The VPN expresses itself on economic issues as they are perceived in the federal coalition's concept. I would say that, by adopting these stances, the movement is endorsing its electoral program. Its intention to participate in shaping the coalition's policy is absolutely positive.

[Cisar] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek recently announced his departure from the VPN while, at the same time, his inclination toward the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is well known....

[Calfa] I would not characterize—at least, for myself—Mr. Dubcek's departure as a departure from the VPN. What, in fact, did he say? He parted ways with the VPN at a time when the movement was splitting into two parts—that is, into the original VPN and into that part that physically left it. Mr. Dubcek had already stated publicly that he did not want this split and that he would express his support for Vladimir Meciar. About a week ago, A. Dubcek gave an interview to NARODNA OBRODA in which he clarified all his points of view. In my opinion, he said many interesting things, and one of them was that he absolutely cannot identify with the HZDS as far as the constitutional and legal arrangement issue is concerned. Therefore, he finds himself in a position where he has acknowledged his inclination toward one political movement, but—on the other hand—has rejected in his own statements this movement's elementary pillars, pillars that are fundamental to it.

[Cisar] In this connection, the ODS issued a statement in which it demanded that the Federal Assembly chairman resign from his post, because—according to it—Mr. Dubcek supports a party in opposition to the government. What is your view of this statement?

[Calfa] I do not consider the statement issued by the ODS legislative club to be at all prudent, because, whether they like it or not, Mr. Dubcek is a dominant figure on the Slovak political scene. He is also well received abroad as an important figure in Czechoslovak politics. He often comes second or third in popularity polls, immediately behind V. Meciar. Therefore, there is a danger that such statements will be perceived in Slovakia not only as a direct attack on Mr. Dubcek, but also as an attack on him as a representative of the Slovak political scene. In this sense and at a time when we are seeking some balance and consensus in the form of a federation, it is quite possible that the Slovak political scene could view such a step as confirmation of the opinion that Slovaks are a priori rejected in federal institutions. However, this situation has far more profound undertones; it does not just involve the Federal Assembly chairman alone. I am afraid that this was a step that did more to divide these two republics than to unite them.

[Cisar] The recent statement made by Jan Carnogursky is associated with this. He said that, in connection with the CSFR's entry into the European Community around the year 2000, he is counting on Slovakia entering independently into this institution as a sovereign state. What do you think of this statement and this situation?

[Calfa] Mr. Carnogursky was surprised that his statement met with such a response. I am also surprised. After all, he has been saying this for several months and he has not changed his point of view. Now, all of a sudden, there is such a response! He is a lucky man because he already knows what will happen in the year 2000. I certainly do not have such a clear picture of what will happen. Moreover, I think it does not depend on what we want, but on what the European Community wants because we want to enter into it and not the other way round. In reply to a direct query from representatives of the Slovak political scene in Bratislava, they said without hesitation that they envisage Europe as a federation of federations. This is what the Slovak representatives heard, but immediately afterwards, they reacted by saying that they will enter the EC "hand in hand" with the Czech Lands, but not "being led by the hand." European integration is a unit in which states are partially non-sovereign because they transfer part of their sovereignty to individual EC organs and coordinate their policy. I would say that to a much greater extent in our federation. It is necessary to understand sovereignty in the sense Mr. Carnogursky speaks about it as meaning that Slovakia wants to transfer part of its sovereignty and independence to the EC based on a decision it made itself. However, we in the federation do not want anything different. That is, nothing other than their transferring some of their authority to our small federation. However, this does not suit Slovak political representatives.

Thus, Prime Minister Carnogursky's statements contain many contradictions. If the Slovak state is an element of an integrative grouping, it will neither be as sovereign or

as independent as it is today. On the contrary, I would say that the trend in the European Community is to hand over more and more authority and sovereignty to the central bodies. It is a profound mistake to assume that Slovakia will be more independent and more sovereign in the EC.

[Cisar] The entry of an independent and sovereign Slovak state into the European Community presupposes the break up of the current federation. What is your view of such a future for our nations?

[Calfa] We are living in a specific time and in a specific area; we are not living in a vacuum. And we have the neighbors we have. I personally feel that the Czechs have better neighbors than we have in Slovakia. The issue of organizing Czechs' mutual relations with their neighbors is completely different than for Slovaks. I would like to remind Slovakia of this. The knowledge I have leads me to the conclusion that breaking up the federation would be fatal for both Czechs and Slovaks. I am convinced of this, not because I would like a federation and centralism (perhaps there could be another form for our mutual coexistence, although there is no such form anywhere today), but because it is a vital necessity. This is despite the fact that people in the Czech Lands as well as Slovakia have been saying that both nations would be better off if they were independent. One could finally come to the conclusion that we should try this. But can we indulge in such an experiment with 5.5 million people in Slovakia and 10 million in the Czech Lands? I think not.

[Cisar] I have the impression that Slovakia is shaping its political profile according to its regions. For example, in the area around Bratislava, and in the city itself, the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the HZDS have a dominant position, whereas East Slovakia has shifted more to the left. What do you think has caused this profiling?

[Calfa] I personally do not view this issue in such a straightforward manner. I think the SNS is more left-wing than any other party. I mean by the policy and methods it has chosen for the political struggle. I would not divide the problem in Slovakia into Bratislava versus East Slovakia. The eastern part is, I would say, far less sensitive as far as national issues and history are concerned because very many nationalities have lived in this region throughout history. There are Hungarians, Poles, Ruthenians, Germans, and Czechs there. They have been there for many centuries; for example, the Germans have been there since the 12th century. In other words, an awareness of national, linguistic, and—finally—religious tolerance has developed in this region. This is a specific area in which this region differs from the others. However, not only Slovakia's regional divisions, but also its political divisions should be taken into consideration. Political parties with strong nationalist programs—not only the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the SNS, but also the HZDS—are in the lead here. What is the difference among their nationalist programs? I personally feel there is no difference. Nor do I see any differences among them as far as their economic programs are concerned. When I listen to some representatives from the Slovak political scene—especially some of the current and former ministers—and when I hear what they are saying about the state's function in and its protection of the economy, I am very surprised. This is what we thought we were beginning to overcome and in what, perhaps, a consensus had been reached. So far, it is apparent that this is not the case. Therefore, in this sense, I perceive the division of Slovakia not only as a division along regional and political lines, but also as a division along greater and lesser national lines.

[Cisar] You mentioned the KDH. There have recently been disputes within this movement as some of its members accuse Jan Carnogursky of being far too tolerant toward Czechs and the federation. What do you think of these disputes?

[Calfa] I think it is a great paradox that a movement bearing the word CHRISTIAN [solid caps as published] in its name reproaches someone for being tolerant. After all, tolerance is one of the elementary pillars of the Christian ideal! It is obvious that although the movement has its own opinions, tolerance—at least in certain political issues and from the rhetoric used by some of its representatives—is not particularly close to its ideals. It is necessary to make a considerable distinction between individual personalities and its deputies' clubs. The KDH Deputies' Club in the Federal Assembly is a body it is possible to communicate with without any problems on matters that are dealt with here. Whereas, communication with other members of this movement (with its representatives operating in Bratislava) is almost impossible because they have an a priori, unalterable point of view.

As you said, a split is taking place here on a national basis. However, I have to say that those KDH representatives who advocate Slovakia's absolute political and economic independence are leading the nation into an unequivocal catastrophe. In this regard, a representative from the movement who thinks along European parameters, who is capable of communicating, and who has operated for a certain period in the federation and knows how it works is more acceptable to me. He is more acceptable than people who trump every economic problem with a national one because—in their case—it very quickly becomes apparent that it is impossible to express an issue in such a manner and also that such opinions do not stand up. Categorical and absolute statements do more harm to the Slovak nation than help it. I emphasize this, first and foremost, because I am myself a Slovak.

[Cisar] Thank you for the interview.

Carnogursky Assesses First 100 Days in Office

AU0208130491 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 31 Jul 91 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Rudolf Prochazka; place and date not given: "One Hundred Busy Days"]

[Excerpts] The incessant disputes within the Public Against Violence [VPN] Movement inevitably transferred to the Slovak Government that, from week to week, gradually lost its ability to function. Therefore, at the end of April, the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium took an unpopular step—it recalled Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. He played a decisive role in the ever -intensifying domestic political crisis. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow we mark the first 100 days of Dr. Jan Carnogursky's term in office as Slovak prime minister. He is the person most qualified to evaluate this period, and so we asked him to take a brief look back: [passage omitted]

[Prochazka] Your position on the political scene is unenviable. You are often left isolated. The coalition has, on more than one occasion, merely resembled a real partnership, and the opposition—although it talks about being constructive—is doing more harm than good. I will mention just two recent examples: Democratic Party Chairman J. Holcik almost jumped out of his skin when Mr. Klepac came up with the idea of establishing a home guard, and VPN Chairman J. Kucerak again firmly rejected the opinion you expressed in the French daily LIBERATION. I would rather not say anything about the opposition points of view and demagogic utterances targeted against the government.

[Carnogursky] I am satisfied with the coalition partners' activity in the government so far, and I cooperate well with them. Admittedly, certain diverse views crop up in dealing with individual issues. After all, there are two fundamental ideological streams in the coalition. The first one is represented by the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], which is a right-wing conservative movement. The second one is a right-wing liberal stream represented by the VPN and the Democratic Party. Diverse views on dealing with specific issues, quite naturally, stem from these two separate ideological approaches toward practical policy. However, the differing concepts in these two ideological streams have a positive aspect—they oppose each other. This is the best way to uncover possible weaknesses in individual solutions and is, at the same time, the best way of seeking the truth. Moreover, everything takes place under the public's gaze. This way it also gets to know our weaknesses. [passage omitted]

[Prochazka] At the end of last week, representatives from the extra-legislative Assembly demanded your immediate resignation. This did not surprise me very much because it originated on the banks of the Vltava....

[Carnogursky] This extra-legislative union is politically insignificant and I am not very worried about demands for my resignation coming from it.

[Prochazka] Are you not a little anxious about your government's prospects? The fall will be here before we know it, and many opposition politicians are literally falling over themselves to make forecasts about a black or even bloody fall. Moreover, they maintain that your government is unable to function.

[Carnogursky] We can see that all the former communist countries have massive problems and there are, and will be, problems in Slovakia. I often ask myself—as well as others—what else the government could do and how it could do better what it is currently doing. So far, I have not received a satisfactory answer telling me how we could do things differently and fundamentally better. Slovakia is a small country and we cannot indulge in shaping a policy different from the one prevailing in the region in which we live. This means that—given such constraints—it is only possible to shape policy the way we are shaping it. Therefore, I am satisfied. Of course, I can step down whenever I want, but let the opposition—or anyone else—put forward another and better alternative capable of being implemented by democratic means. After all, the Slovak legislature has already voted twice on changing the SNR Presidium, and the opposition had no luck on either occasion. It is simply incapable of forming another government, and that is definite. Despite some differences in the coalition partners' ideologies, we succeed in uniting ourselves along a certain line. However, the opposition has no unifying platform. In fact, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is only kept together by Vladimir Meciar. If there was no Vladimir Meciar, what would keep it together? We can regard the Slovak National Party or the Party of the Democratic Left in the same light. The opposition simply has no purposeful policy concept. I do not take opinions on my government's inability to function seriously, because they are groundless.

[Prochazka] The most recent public opinion poll indicated that the KDH is again winning our citizens' favor. Do you think this is a definitive turnaround and that people are beginning to realize the purposefulness and effectiveness of your policy?

[Carnogursky] I always shape policy in a way that best suits the interests of Slovakia and the CSFR. I am only slightly aware of public opinion polls. However, they do indicate that the KDH regularly comes second. First place is always occupied by other movements—they take turns—and the very fact that the KDH constantly maintains a high standard is a sign of stability and of our movement's single policy line. Only such a policy is capable of giving stability, a clear line, and good prospects to Slovakia. Whether this is a definitive turn-

around does not interest me as much, because I will always shape the kind of policy I consider to be correct.

[Prochazka] In conclusion, I would like you to say a few words about Czech-Slovak relations.

[Carnogursky] It has also been demonstrated that in this sphere the KDH's line is realistic and is gradually being implemented. We really do not want to break up the Republic. First and foremost, support for and enhancement of friendly relations between our nations—and also between Czechs and Slovaks—is paramount in our political line. We support a joint Slovak-Czech entry into the wider European Community of nations. We perceive the CSFR as the nucleus of a community that we want to join, not by breaking up the CSFR, but by entering Europe together so that in the future we may operate in it as two independent nations. Our idea is close to that of many West European politicians. For example, during his recent visit to Bratislava, the Bavarian prime minister expressed the view that they, too, do not want the future Europe to be a single mass of Europeans, but that they want it to be a Europe of variety established by individual nations.

World Bank Agrees To Grant $450 Million Loan

AU0508072291 Prague CTK in English 1945 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Washington July 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Ambassador to the United States Rita Klimova and Vice-President of the World Bank Willi Wapenhans signed here today an agreement under which the bank will lend Czechoslovakia 450 million U.S. dollars to finance structural changes in its economy.

Bank representative Ulrich Hewer told CTK the loan is payable in 15 years.

The first 250 million U.S. dollars will be available immediately. The other two parts of the loan (each worth 100 million U.S. dollars) will be drawn at the close of the current year and in mid-1992. The Czechoslovak Government can use the money for various purposes but not for purchases of weapons and some luxury goods. In order to draw the latter two parts of the loan the government must meet concrete conditions, including the submission to parliament of a bill on environmental protection and the preparation of the rules of procedure and lists of enterprises for the large-scale privatization program.

Hewer said the Export-Import Bank of Japan is interested in providing a loan of 200 million U.S. dollars to Czechoslovakia under the same conditions.

Industry Statistics for First Half of 1991

AU0208094291 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jul p 8

[Text]

The Development of Some Basic Indicators in Industry During the Period From January to June 1991 (Established From the Reports by Organizations With Staff of More Than 100)

Sectors	Production of goods	Number of staff	Productivity of labor
	(adjusted for influence of prices)		
	Indicators (the same period last year=100)		
Industry total	82.4	90.9	90.7
of that:			
Fuel industry	102.4	90.0	113.8
Energy production	98.3	97.4	101.0
Iron metallurgy	92.3	93.8	98.3
Non-ferrous metallurgy	69.2	82.1	84.3
Chemical industry incl.rubber and asbestos	81.1	93.0	87.2
Mechanical engineering	81.3	90.5	89.9
Electrical engineering a.id electronics	71.6	87.8	81.6
Construction material	73.1	88.5	82.7
Woodworking industry	87.6	91.4	95.9
Metalworking industry	80.5	92.6	86.9
Pulp and paper mills	95.1	94.6	100.5
Glass, ceramic, and china industry	81.0	94.1	86.1
Textile industry	75.0	88.0	85.2
Clothing industry	63.3	89.1	71.1
Tanning, leather-processing industry	74.0	91.7	80.7
Printing industry	80.5	94.8	85.0
Food industry	78.4	90.9	86.3
Refrigeration plant output			
the spa industry			
tobacco industry	80.2	93.3	86.0

Increase of Assets in Transferable Rubles Reported

AU0208193391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 July 91 p 9

[Jiri Zimola article: "Business and Payment Relations"]

[Excerpts]

The Position of the CSFR

The total current banking position of the CSFR regarding the former CEMA states is well on the credit side. During last year, Czechoslovak assets grew by approximately 0.5 billion to 1.56 billion transferable rubles. The gain in total assets was a result of the surplus of exports of Czechoslovak goods and services over imports. [passage omitted]

Since the beginning of this year Czechoslovak current assets have grown even more. By 10 May 1991, these assets had reached a total of 2.32 billion transferable rubles. [passage omitted]

The Liquidation Programs Stagnate

The additional gains in assets result from the unsatisfactory implementation of the liquidation programs by some of our partners.

For example, the Bulgarian side (Czechoslovak total credit is 315 million transferable rubles) offered goods, the amount of which is far from sufficient to cover Bulgarian liabilities. Therefore, the Czechoslovak side is demanding the submission of an additional offer of goods, and it is searching for other means of liquidating the debt.

Similarly, on the Romanian side (190 million transferable rubles), there are shortfalls in deliveries, and the amount of goods offered is not sufficient to cover the debts owed to Czechoslovakia. Because the use of national currencies has been ended in non-commercial payments, some of the returned funds have been deposited for us in lei in an account at the appropriate Romanian foreign trade bank. These funds would be economically best used in enterprise on Romanian territory (e.g., investment, capital participation in joint ventures, etc.).

The transfer of the remainder of the long-term loan provided for the development of sulphur mining and processing is largely responsible for the credit balance in trade with Poland (271 million transferable rubles). The amount of economic contracting is insufficient to cover the debt, especially in view of the high prices in the offer.

At a certain level, the total sum of the current Czechoslovak credit balance is corrected by the debit balance in trade with other states of the region in question. The most significant are Czechoslovak liabilities in trade with the former GDR (678 million transferable rubles). In deciding on the method to be used to eliminate this liability, it will be necessary to take into consideration the reasons for its inception, which are connected with the unification of Germany. This particularly concerns the refusal to take some Czechoslovak deliveries agreed upon in the annual protocol and the substantially reduced drawing on the tourism funds in comparison with the contracted intentions.

Long-Term Assets

In addition to the banking credit balance, mostly from ordinary trade in goods and services, the CSFR has in its relation to the "Eastern Bloc" long-term assets, resulting mostly from government-provided credits. These assets total approximately 3.4 billion transferable rubles. The most sizable among them is the government credit provided to the USSR in 1989 to cover the trade balance deficit and credits for selected acts of integration. [passage omitted]

Special Fund To Oversee Slovak Privatization

AU0208093891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jul 91 p 2

[CTK report: "The National Property Fund"]

[Text] Bratislava—To help the transformation of state property into private property, the Slovak National Council has passed a law establishing the Slovak Republic National Property Fund as a legal entity. The fund has been registered with the register of companies.

The main task of the fund is the transformation of state property into private property. Privatization projects drawn up in enterprises will be presented to ministerial departments for assessment. Actual approval of them lies within the competence of the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property and, in come cases, in the competence of the Slovak Republic Government. Joint stock companies that will be transferred to the fund for administration will be established at the same moment the state enterprises are abolished. Only via the fund will joint stock companies or other commercial companies, as the case may be, gradually be privatized in accordance with approved projects.

The chairman of the presidium of the fund, Marian Jusko said in an interview with CTK that the fund suggests that each citizen over the age of 18 should become a holder of investment coupons. For the sum of 1,000 korunas, he would receive 1,000 investment points [investicni bod] that he would be able to invest in designated joint stock companies at centrally determined prices.

Increase in Failure of Privatized Shops Reported

AU0208122591

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 30 July on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,300-word Alena Drabova article entitled "Auctions Will Have To Be Repeated." The article deals with the "increasingly frequent return of auctioned off shops" to the state enterprises that had owned them previously.

Drabova quotes Bohuslav Dvorak, director of the "General Stores Prague" state enterprise, as having told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that of the 60 outlets of this state-owned retailing organization that have been privatized to date, 14 have been "returned" to it. Moreover, the state enterprise has already received "advance notice" about the return of two more recently privatized shops, a gift shop and a scent shop, both of them in Wenceslas Square.

The "most frequent cause" of the returns are "excessive rents" charged by the owners or administrators of the buildings in which these shops are located. While in some locations the state enterprise paid as little as 190 korunas per square meter a year, the new private occupants are charged "several thousand korunas" for the same space. Therefore, Drabova advises prospective bidders to inquire in advance what rent to expect. She adds that another reason many of the new entrepreneurs are giving up are the unsalable stocks of some of these shops.

Daily Reports 1991 Tourism Development, Proceeds

AU0208124891

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 30 July on pages 13 and 14 carries a 4,000-word Aram Simonian article entitled "People on the Road." The article discusses the growing importance of tourism as an economic factor.

Speaking about the development of tourism in the CSFR in the first half of 1991, Simonian says: "The number of foreign visitors to the CSFR has been steadily growing since [the fall of the communist regime in] November 1989. In the first half of this year, 24.4 million foreign nationals crossed our borders, which was 49.8 percent more than in the first half of 1990 and only 17.6 percent less than in the entire year 1989." The structure of foreign visitors has changed as well, Simonian continues. Whereas, in 1989, 38.5 percent of all visitors came from Poland, 25.5 percent from the GDR, and 18.7 percent from Hungary, by far the highest number of tourists in the first half of 1991 came from united Germany (41.5 percent), followed by Austria (12.1 percent), Poland (11.3 percent), and Hungary (7 percent).

Simonian says that it is impossible using present statistical methods to determine how many tourists came just for one day and how many stayed in Czechoslovakia overnight. As he points out, only "registered enterprises and entrepreneurs with more than 25 employees" are obliged to provide the statistical office with data, which leaves stays in the growing number of private accommodation facilities unrecorded.

Speaking about the economic effects of tourism, Simonian says that, according to Czechoslovak State Bank sources, foreign nationals exchanged $69.54 million in Czechoslovakia in the first five months of this year. Foreign currency proceeds from organized tourism amounted to $81.71 million. This means that official foreign exchange proceeds from tourism amounted to $151.25 million in the first five months of 1991. Simonian describes this figure as "disproportionately low," especially when one considers that in the same period Czechoslovak banks sold Czechoslovak citizens foreign exchange worth $243.26 million for the purpose of "private tourism."

Simonian suspects, however, that many foreign guests do not use the services of banks and exchange bureaus to purchase Czechoslovak currency. This is born out, for example, by the development of deposits on Czechoslovak citizens' foreign exchange accounts, which increased by $129.64 million in the first quarter of 1991 alone. In addition, many foreign tourists arrive in Czechoslovakia with Czechoslovak korunas that they purchased in Western banks.

Although the author concedes that official data do not reflect the true economic benefit derived from tourism, he says that "they permit the conclusion that foreign exchange proceeds from tourism continue to be disproportionately low." As he points out, comparable countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, or Denmark earn around $3 billion from tourism annually.

Party of Democratic Left on State Arrangements

AU0208140391 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 July 91 p 2

[Martin Krno report: A Unitarian State Is Not Acceptable"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—Anton Bonko, secretary of the Party of Democratic Left Central Committee, said at yesterday's briefing that Mr. Carnogursky was not shooting blindly during the interview for the daily LIBERATION. A political and currency union will be formed in Western Europe in 1993 but, so far, nobody has said that individual countries and borders would disappear.

Everything seems to indicate that the integrated Europe will be a confederation. This gives rise to a question regarding what form Slovak participation would take. At present, however, the emphasis should be on a settlement of the internal arrangement of the CSFR. Slovak National Council Deputy Eduard Barany provided journalists with a list of possibilities for our future coexistence, in the order of preference: 1. A federation built from below; 2. A confederation; 3. A customs union of two independent states; 4. The last option—a unitarian state with federal ornamentation—is absolutely unacceptable for the Party of Democratic Left. He praised Slovak Republic Interior Minister L. Pittner for resisting pressure from the coalition partners to include politicking in police and personnel-related issues. On the other hand, E. Barany does not think that a formation of a new home guard armed corps for suppressing demonstrations would be reasonable. He called the Democratic

Party's wish for the trade unions in the police corps to be dissolved an attack against the freedom of assembly. [passage omitted]

Right-Wing Group Wants Anticommunist Coalition

LD0308173591 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Brno Aug 3 (CTK)—A grouping of right-wing parties and movements today urged all Czechoslovak citizens "to form a pre-election coalition" on the basis of its earlier statement called "Stop to Communists in a State Ruled by Law."

The appeal was made by representatives of 18 political parties, known as the College of Right-Wing Parties and Movements, at their meeting in Brno.

They said the basic condition for joining the democratic right-wing coalition is agreement to have all their members screened to exclude their past collaboration with the secret police, STB.

The college is convinced that the situation in Czechoslovakia is still controlled by forces linked up with the former regime.

The grouping was founded at Kladno in February 1991 by the Radical Republican Party, the Republican Union, the Czechoslovak Neutrality Party, the Independent Erotic Initiatiative and the Club of Committed Non-Party People (KAN). Of the five, only KAN has members in the Federal Assembly (parliament). It ran on the Civic Forum list in the June 1990 elections. The next elections must be held in Czechoslovakia before June 1992.

Survey of Current Voter Preferences Reported

AU0208130391 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul p 2

[CTK report: "For Whom Would They Vote"]

[Text] For which political party or which movement would you vote in the elections to the Federal Assembly if it took place next week? This question was given to 1,122 Czechoslovak citizens by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. The results are shown in the following tables:

The development of electoral preferences in the Czech Republic (data in percent)

Period:	1 Mar to 8 Mar	28 Mar to 3 Apr	6 May to 10 May	30 May to 5 Jun	1 Jul to 8 Jul
Civic Democratic Party	12	21	17	18	18
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	8	9	10	10	9
Czechoslovak People's Party	9	7	9	5	9
Association for the Republic/Republican Party of Czechoslovakia	4	6	6	5	7
Social Democrats	7	8	4	7	6
Civic Movement	8	6	7	8	5
Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia	11	7	6	6	4
Green Party	7	4	4	3	4
Christian Democratic Party	-	5	1	1	3
Agricultural Party	-	3	4	3	3
Civic Democratic Alliance	0	0	0	3	2
Other Parties	16	8	11	7	7
Not Known	18	16	21	24	23

The development of electoral preferences in the Slovak Republic
(data in percent)

Period:	1 Mar to 8 Mar	28 Mar to 3 Apr	6 May to 10 May	30 May to 5 Jun	1 Jul to 8 Jul
Movement for Democratic Slovakia	-	28	38	32	39
Christian Democratic Movement	21	16	8	13	17
Slovak National Party	13	14	15	16	13
Party of Democratic Left	16	10	16	14	9
Democratic Party	5	7	3	5	6
Public Against Violence	14	2	3	5	4
Green Party	6	4	4	1	2
Egyutteles and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	3	2	1	1	2
Other Parties	10	9	4	4	4
Not Known	12	8	8	9	6

Do you think that it is necessary to call early legislative elections in the near future?—the second question of the survey asked.

The early elections were favored by 24 percent of citizens polled in the Czech Republic and opposed by 66 percent of them (10 percent do not know). In the Slovak Republic, 42 percent of those polled opted for the early elections, and the same percentage disagreed with the proposal (16 percent do not know).

Suit Filed Over Leak of Secret Documents

LD0308172691 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Jan Kavan says a leak from the Federal Assembly (parliament) commission investigating the November 1989 events, the Interior Ministry or the Federal Security Service (FBIS) must be behind the emergence in Britain of documents which he believes contain classified information.

In this connection Kavan is suing unknown persons for espionage and abuse of the powers of a public official.

The name of Kavan and nine other parliamentary deputies were read at a public Federal Assembly session last March 22 as being registered as Secret Police (STB) collaborators under the communist regime.

Kavan told CTK today the file that served for this conclusion has either been copied or otherwise exploited although it was to be in the sole possession of the parliamentary commission investigating the still fully unexplained action against a student demonstration on November 17, 1989 that eventually led to the fall of the communist regime. As part of these investigations, the commission also conducted the screenings of deputies to exclude their STB contacts.

Kavan says the file has since then been taken to Britain. In mid-July 1991 a British journalist, Julian Manyon, made available to the British Broadcasting Complaints Commission a set of documents which included parts of the STB files and statements by persons who saw their photocopies and commented on their content.

Kavan believes the group of people who may have been responsible for the leak is very limited because only members of the parliamentary commission or Interior Ministry and Federal Security and Information Service (FBIS) staff which conducted the screening could have copied the documents.

Kavan notes that the Interior Ministry has not requested the original file from the parliamentary commission although it was ordered by a Prague district court to submit the documents in an earlier suit filed by Kavan to protect his reputation. The ministry failed to produce the file within the required four-week period and has been fined 400 crowns [currency as received].

Social Democratic deputies in parliament have sent an interpellation to Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos advising him that it would be illegal to refuse to make Interior Ministry files available to court.

Kavan lived in Britain before returning to Czechoslovakia after November 1989. He was registered in STB files as providing information to an STB agent in Britain in the 1970's, but he denies any knowing communication with STB.

U.S. Influence Seen Behind Stop of Tank Sales

AU0208165791 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jul pp 1, 2

[Editorial article: "Will We Lose Iranian Gas?"]

[Text] Jan Jursa, adviser to the CSFR deputy foreign minister, announced at the news conference in Bratislava on 26 July that the Omnipol enterprise did not obtain a license for the delivery of 1,500 used T-54 and T-55 tanks to Iran. With this announcement, the issue of arm sales to Teheran that was feverishly discussed since the spring has been closed. As in a similar case involving tank sales to Syria, the CSFR was not spared from strong intervention by the United States.

Friday's report was announced to the public with some delay. According to information available to us, Teheran was informed about Czechoslovakia's negative standpoint a few days ago. Now, we are expecting Iran's reaction. In recent weeks, Iran emphatically confirmed once again its serious interest in purchasing used, older types of Czechoslovak tanks and in the production lines of arms factories in Slovakia. In reaction to Czechoslovakia's publicly expressed doubts about the deliveries, there were signals from Teheran that Iran could conceivably cancel Czechoslovak civilian projects in that country, including the intended deliveries of natural gas to the CSFR through the USSR. Circles close to the Iranian Government told us that for the time being, there are no signs that such a decision could be made. The future will also show to what extent our trade with Iran will be impaired by the diplomatic tussle over the tank deliveries.

United States' Objections

Representatives of the CSFR Government and the Ministry of Defense said on multiple occasions that our country is not interested in exporting military technology to disturbed regions. The Middle East is undoubtedly such a region. The decision not to grant the export license to Omnipol was made in the span of about eight months. This decision bears all the hallmarks of the tension and the war in the Gulf and, apparently, also of the U.S. standpoint.

During its intervention in Prague, Washington, as we have reported, referred to its own sanctions, EC sanctions imposed against Syria, and its own legally implemented ban on the sales of arms to Iran. Libya, Iraq, Iran, Syria, North Korea, and Cuba are on the U.S. "black list." The American side also argued that the CSFR would have violated the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (KOS) (signed in Paris on 19 November 1990) since weapons cannot be sold or moved elsewhere instead of being destroyed or converted.

Syria? - Understanding

The Slovak T-72 tanks for Syria are completely irrelevant as far as the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is concerned. This treaty does not pertain to them, since they are new products—that is, new military technology not included in the arsenal of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, and therefore, they are not subject to the cuts according to the treaty. In this case, it is the political viewpoint that matters here.

After his return from the United States on 19 June, Czechoslovak Defense Minister L. Dobrovsky said in Prague that the Americans understood the reasons that had led the CSFR to sell the tanks to Syria, and that this was a one-time action.

Not even a month later, on 11 July, the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee criticized Czechoslovak arms exports to Syria. Secretary of State James Baker told the senators that the U.S. Government was holding talks on this subject with Czechoslovaks (and Bulgarians). According to information available to us, the United States has made it plain in a diplomatic way to Prague that the volume of Czechoslovak arms exports is larger than in previous years and that this could become a focus of all of Europe's attention.

How Did the Arms Surplus Arise?

Most of the Czechoslovak arms production was destined for Warsaw Pact member countries. The Warsaw Pact ceased to exist and the conversion is in its initial stage. The surplus is also caused by the cuts in existing levels of conventional armed forces in Europe.

However, according to information available to us, even if the tanks were sold to Iran as intended, the CSFR would not violate the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. If the contracts involving arms sales from the arsenal of a country's armed forces were concluded before the treaty was signed in Paris and if the country that signed the contract announced this when reporting its levels of armed forces, then this military technology can be sold.

We have verified the fact that the contract with Iran had been actually concluded in October 1990, that is, more than one month before the treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe had been signed in Paris.

Two levels of conventional forces are binding for each country—the level at the moment the treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe was signed and the level two months after that. Before the treaty was signed, the CSFR preliminarily reported its levels. When the treaty was concluded, Czechoslovakia gave more accurate figures. The number of pieces of conventional arms from the Czechoslovak Armed Forces arsenal designated for export and deposited in warehouses designed for this purpose even before [the treaty was concluded] were not included in the late figures. What is more important, the contracts for the sale of these arms had been concluded with a foreign partner even before the treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe had been signed.

One Thousand Tanks to Iran from Poland?

While we were having lengthy discussions about the tanks for Iran, there was a piece of news that could be heard in commercial circles, that Poland had sold some 1,000 tanks to Iran in the meantime.

Bavarian Prime Minister Views Treaty Problems

AU0208122391 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bavarian Prime Minister Max Streibl by "gc"- signed CTK correspondent; in Bratislava on 26 July "There Are Numerous Problems With the Treaty"]

[Text] Prague/Bratislava—Bavarian Prime Minister Max Streibl, member of the Christian Social Union [CSU] leadership, believes that the Czechoslovak-German treaty could be concluded within a few months but that there are numerous problems concerning the treaty. At least these were the remarks he made while answering RUDE PRAVO questions at a news conference in Bratislava on 26 July. We asked him:

[RUDE PRAVO] What is the CSU position regarding the currently negotiated Czechoslovak-German treaty?

[Streibl] There are numerous problems with the treaty. The first of the four most consequential ones is the question of whether the Sudeten Germans can return, should they wish to do so. This problem will solve itself when the CSFR joins the EC.

The second is protection of minorities. We have 50,000 to 55,000 Germans here. A solution to this problem lies in CSFR acceptance of the CSCE documents, including the one concerning the protection of minorities.

The third is the fact that both parties committed injustices: the Germans to the Czechs and Slovaks, and it was the other way around with the deportation. We believe that this could be briefly mentioned in the preamble to the treaty, noting that it is a matter of the past and that we want to put this behind us.

The fourth issue is property. I believe that we should put this behind us, too. It can be done in the state sector but difficulties arise in the private sector, for the state cannot decide what should be done there and how. Therefore, for the time being, we will leave the old claims out of the treaty, just as we did in the treaty with Poland. If someone felt then that he should make his claim, he would have to apply to the International Court.

In this respect, at least it is my personal opinion, we will conclude the treaty within just a few months.

[RUDE PRAVO] What was the CSU role in the recent meeting between Bonn and the Sudeten German Landsmanschaft?

[Streibl] It was a clear-cut role. With the exception of three years, the CSU has been in government in Bavaria all throughout the post-war period. After the war, most of the Sudeten Germans—there were about 2 million of them—came to Bavaria. Bavaria then became a kind of a protective shield to them.

It is not true that Sudeten Germans have some kind of special objections to Czechoslovakia. Even today, they oppose a new expropriation. There is no question of taking property away from those who own it. These tales are being spread here, and it is being done mostly by very left-oriented parties—communists and such. Of course, we will not accommodate them because we want to contribute to the solution prepared in connection with the small and, later, the large-scale privatization. I had the opportunity myself to verify that Germans can participate in the second stage of privatization. I have spoken about it with Prime Minister Calfa as well as with Foreign Minister Dienstbier.

Compromise Discussed With Hungary on Gabcikovo

AU0208093391 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Minister Josef Vavrousek, chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment, by Cestmir Klos; place and date not given: "Not To Let Go in the Middle"]

[Text] Our nations have had bitter experience with things that are "temporary." [allusion to the claim by the Warsaw Pact armies that invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 that their stay would be "temporary"] One such "temporary" solution is now being planned on the Danube—the temporary variation of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant. The first surprise was the backing that it received from the Slovak Government. The second surprise was that it was accepted also by the Federal Government as a second—sure—variation, in case of failure of the unsure variation that would have to be implemented together with the Hungarians. And the third surprise? That this was announced on the radio, without a single word of critical comment, by Josef Vavrousek, chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment. By the same Engineer Josef Vavrousek who wrote the study, issued by the Ecological Section in the late eighties, in which all opponents of the destruction of the beautiful landscape downstream from Bratislava had been looking for arguments.

[Klos] Have you changed your opinion so drastically?

[Vavrousek] No! Of course, I have learned many new details since then, but I stand by what I wrote in the NIKA magazine (1989, issues 1 and 2). I wrote there literally: "The insensitive and undemocratic approach in seeking a comprehensively acceptable solution and the manifested intransigence might even cause the long-term aggravation of our relations with Hungary." That is exactly what has now happened!

[Klos] What do your propose then?

[Vavrousek] The same thing that I proposed at the government session—negotiations. If we just stick to our positions, we will not get anywhere. Two razor-sharp positions are constantly clashing, and the only result is that passions are running ever higher. I feel as if I am stuck between two grinding stones. When I assume an equally stubborn position against the "C" variant [that

provides for diverting the flow of the Danube to Czechoslovak territory and is, therefore, regarded by Hungary as a violation of the Paris Treaty on the common border]. I deprive myself of the opportunity to intervene and to play the role of mediator. Of course, it would be far more comfortable to pound my fist on the table and then to sit with my arms folded and wait for my prediction to come true. Even though in the government the pessimistic view prevails that the Hungarian position insisting on halting all work is unchangeable, I want to try for another round of talks.

[Klos] But what can you offer to the Hungarian deputies with whom you have requested a discussion?

[Vavrousek] I will try to explain the situation to them and to convince them of the necessity of seeking a solution. I will not tell them that our variation is the only possible one. As a matter of fact, which of our variations is actually the best one? All of them are bad, and it is necessary to weigh their pros and cons and to choose the one that is least bad and most acceptable to both sides. There is no other solution. Of course, it would have been better had nothing been built on Rye Island [area along the Danube in southern Slovakia], but that is now beyond our influence. We are now in the middle of it. I used to climb mountains, and I learned one thing from it—you cannot let go when you are in the middle.

[Klos] But some people do have a solution—the "C" variant....

[Vavrousek] That will cost a lot of money and destroy another piece of land. And, once completed, there will be enormous problems operating it. All of a sudden, the idea will occur to someone to stop the other side's boats, someone else will come up with the idea of stopping the other side's trucks, then someone will sink the other side's vessel.... The path of confrontation leads nowhere. Agreement is the only possibility.

[Brief interviews with Josef Vavrousek on the Gabcikovo project are published also by Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech and Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech on 31 July. In the 250-word MLADA FRONTA DNES interview, Vavrousek "deplores" the fact that "no other form of communication" has been found with the ecological movement than "demonstrations and suppression of these demonstrations." Asked about a possible solution to the Czechoslovak-Hungarian dispute about the project, Vavrousek says: "I personally believe that a generally-acceptable variant might be the shelving of the Nagymaros section indefinitely or the recommendation to the Hungarian government that it build at Nagymaros a low navigation barrage [nizky plavebni stupen] that would allow navigation even at times of a low water level on the Danube. That would make it possible to complete the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station, but with a substantially changed philosophy for its completion and operation, so that it could discharge also ecological functions." In the 300-word OBCANSKY DENIK interview, Vavrousek says that on 30 July he sent a letter to the speaker of the Hungarian Assembly, in which he requested the opportunity to address members of the Hungarian Assembly "at some point in early September." In his address, he hopes to convince them about the need for a "constructive" solution that would be "feasible and acceptable to both sides, so that Gabcikovo does not become a source of tension." He reiterates his concern that the two sides' sticking to their present positions "will not lead anywhere" and might even result in "the use of economic sanctions and mutual willful acts."]

New Accord Signed With Hungary on Oil Pipeline

AU0208140891 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia and Hungary signed an agreement today clearing up Hungary's 21.5 million convertible ruble debt to Czechoslovakia for the latter's part in building the Adria oil pipeline in the 1970's. Adria provides oil to Czechoslovakia from the Adriatic Sea via Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Under the accord, replacing a 1974 agreement, Czechoslovakia will write off the debt and Hungary will forgive Czechoslovakia's balance-of-trade deficit. The accord says the portion of the pipeline running through Hungary will remain Hungarian property.

Adria is capable of supplying Czechoslovakia with an annual 4-4.5 million tonnes of crude oil.

FIDESZ Member on Six-Party Negotiations

AU0208132591 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 30 Jul 91 pp 6,7

[Interview with Tamas Deutsch, legislative representative of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Ferenc Vicsek; place and date not given: "Six-Party Fiasco"]

[Excerpt] The largest government coalition party has questioned the future of the so-called six-party coordination talks. Upon hearing this statement by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], our correspondent called on Tamas Deutsch, a representative of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]—the party that initiated these talks—to ask him about the possibilities of extra-legislative (party) talks.

[Vicsek] Did the MDF board decision surprise the FIDESZ?

[Deutsch] I am afraid I have to say that it did not surprise us in the least. Those who have been following Hungarian political events over the last four or five months are no longer surprised by the governing parties' (and particularly the largest governing party's) incomprehensible and often completely irrational arrogance. This arrogance has marked the governing parties' various political manifestations. Personally, I can only include the latest MDF board decision in a list of arrogant manifestations.

An Untenable Argument

[Vicsek] Why do you say that the decision was arrogant? The decision merely stated that the MDF did not want to use a six-party framework to discuss issues that fall under the government's sphere of authority.

[Deutsch] Naturally, everybody can believe what they want. However, I personally think that during these last few months, we have clearly seen in plenary six-party talks, in expert negotiations, and in political public opinion that it is an untenable argument to say that the content of the six-party coordination talks infringes upon the Legislature's sphere of authority. It is also wrong to say that in a specific situation, there could be a conflict between the proper functioning of government and the possible Moncloa agreement that we suggested during the six-party coordination talks. Now that the continuation of these six-party coordination talks seems virtually impossible, I think it would be important for me to summarize the reasons why we initiated these talks. Through this summary, you can clearly see why we find the MDF statement untenable.

Firstly, since the 1990 elections, the FIDESZ has repeatedly stated the need for the broadest possible consensus on decisions that affect the basic elements in our change of regime. Secondly, our initiative was motivated by the political stalemate that had developed in Hungary by the beginning of 1991. It seemed that the only political initiative that stood a real chance—the only initiative that could break the deadlock in Hungary's public and political life—was the six-party initiative, which became known as the series of six-party coordination talks. Within this framework, the six [legislative] parties could have discussed some very serious economic decisions and their rather negative effects. The six parties could also have discussed social countermeasures to complement these economic decisions.

Finally, the six parties could have come to an agreement—the government and the government parties would have been responsible for the implementation of this agreement (in view of their constitutional position), and the legislative opposition would have been in charge of supervising the agreement. This would have led to a situation in Hungary where any kind of dissatisfaction (which would surely arise at some point) would be maintained within the limits of democracy, in a political sense. As it stands today, dissatisfaction will not necessarily break the boundaries of our legislative democracy or constitutionality, but there are no institutional guarantees in our current political life to say that the government will at long last implement an efficient economic policy (contrary to its helpless policies so far), an economic policy that would provide an answer to the justified mass dissatisfaction that is starting to appear in this country.

Our Delayed Laws

[Vicsek] The MDF board appears to judge the situation differently, though; they say that it is out of the question that we have come to a political stalemate. In fact, legislation is progressing continuously and faster than ever before in Hungary. Fundamental laws determining ownership relations are being passed, including the Compensation Law, the Law on Church Property, and others. The laws being drafted and the bills already drafted have been submitted to the Legislature and the government, so there is no problem.

[Deutsch] It would be a very cheap answer and somewhat undignified to say that I recommend that all MDF delegates, ministers, and ordinary Hungarian citizens who believe the government's statements on this issue go out to the streets and ask people whether they really feel that everything is all right in our economy. Instead, I would merely say that our government, which is responsible to our freely elected Legislature, supposedly has an economic program. This is known as the Kupa program—after the name of our finance minister—and according to the cabinet's daily statements, it is the government's valid and authentic economic program. This program gives a very accurate list of the legislative measures needed to save the basic institutions of our market economy. According to this, the Hungarian Legislature should have started to deal with certain laws sometime in March 1991, laws that they might not deal with at all in 1991.

What happens is that—completely inexplicably and unreasonably—our government forces ideologically motivated economic bills on the Legislature . One of

them is the Compensation Law; the law on settling the ownership situation of church property belongs to this series of laws in many respects, and the law on transferring certain state properties to local government ownership also contains elements that smack of compensation. Our Legislature spent four to five months on these laws, but in the meantime, our country does not have a new law on state finances, and the law on cooperatives, the privatization law, the drafts on the new taxation rules, the land and several other issues of the Kupa program have not been dealt with.

[Vicsek] Concession, for example.

[Deutsch] Out of the concession laws, the Legislature has only dealt with the bill on gambling. After the Compensation Law was passed, various newspaper articles listed the 15-20-25 very important laws, for example the law on financial institutions, that the Legislature had not dealt with. After all this, it is stupid to say that today, in Hungary, the government has a well-functioning and efficient economic policy that is pulling our country out of this crisis with the speed of a steam-engine and reseting it onto the track that leads to a developed European market economy. Unfortunately, it appears that in this country, our former statement gradually loses its validity; I am referring to the FIDESZ statement contained in our criticism of the first 100 days of government which claimed that this government had committed mistakes but that these mistakes were not irreparable yet. We might soon have to say that some laws—like the Compensation Law—also contain certain irreparable mistakes. It definitely seems to me that the government's delaying tactics will become irredeemable with the passing of time. I think that this will gradually be proved in autumn 1991. [passage omitted]

Six Legislative Parties Membership Data Reported

LD0508061991

[Editorial Report] Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian at 1700 GMT on 4 August, during its regularly scheduled "The Week" program, carries a 60-minute recorded round table discussion among unidentified representatives of six Hungarian legislative parties in Budapest; date not given.

During the discussion, the following party data is reported:

Hungarian Democratic Forum membership increased from 21,000 to 34,480 between "spring 1990" and "February 1991," with 30 percent "active" membership.

Christian Democratic People's Party membership increased from 3,200 to "more than 16,000" between the 1990 elections and 3 August 1991.

Alliance of Free Democrats membership increased from 15,000 to 32,744 between "spring 1990" and the "end of July" 1991.

Federation of Young Democrats membership increased from 5,100 to 9,474 between "spring 1990" and 4 August 1991.

Independent Smallholders Party membership increased from 40,000 to 57,400 between the 1990 elections and "before the latest national board session, this summer."

Finally, Hungarian Socialist Party membership decreased from "approximately 50,000" to 40,000 between its founding in 1989 and 4 August 1991. The party representative says the decrease is due to the "cleansing of the party" and the fact that the party has taken on a "social-democratic style."

Czech Environment Minister on Danube Project

LD0208204391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] The Czechoslovak minister for the environment [Josef Vavrousek] is preparing to visit our country with new—or at least somewhat new—proposals related to construction work at Gabcikovo. The organizations Independent Magyar Initiative and Coexistence criticize the amended proposals. Evelyn Forro reports from Prague:

[Forro] The Czechoslovak minister for the environment would like to expound his position on the Gabcikovo water barrage in the Hungarian legislature. Josef Vavrousek, in a telephone interview to "Uj Szo" of Bratislava, said that on behalf of the Federal Government he had asked his Hungarian counterparts for the opportunity to speak in the Budapest parliament.

According to the minister, the construction of the Gabcikovo water barrage could be completed in a manner completely different from the original plan, without the Nagymaros section, so damage to the environment decreases to a minimum. He took it as his point of departure that the Gabcikovo power station would operate in a flow-through manner [atfolyasos mod]. As he said, the water requirement of the area along the Danube is greatest in the spring and summer, when the Danube's water supply is large. However, the demand for electrical power is low at precisely this time.

There is no need, even, for the Hrusov reservoir, from the viewpoint of the power station's continuous operation. Anyway, it endangers the underground water supplies. The water level could be raised with the assistance of dams built along the current channel. The existing embankments of the reservoir would serve flood defense objectives. A flood plain forest would again be planted in the area between the embankments, Minister Vavrousek told "Uj Szo".

Today's Bratislava papers carry the positions of the Independent Magyar Initiative and Coexistence on the Gabcikovo water barrage. Independent Magyar Initiative, which takes part in the Slovak Government coalition, wants to take the affair of the water barrage to the legislature, and it

demands guarantees vis-a-vis the expected technical problems and environmental damage.

Coexistence has appealed, by means of an open letter, to Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, and it has protested that to date the demands of the local inhabitants and the environmental protection activists have not been taken into account. The movement considers it unacceptable that the affair of the Gabcikovo water barrage is used to instigate nationality differences, since this power station endangers the interests of all of the inhabitants, irrespective of nationality.

Envoy on Danube Talks

LD0308174891 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Rudolf Chmel, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of Czechoslovakia to Hungary, has handed to Hungarian Prime Minister Jozef Antall a letter from Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky. The letter contains information about the decision by the Federal and Slovak Governments to continue work on the realization of a temporary solution of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. Ambassador Chmel had this to say to Tomas Borec, our Budapest correspondent, about his talks with the Hungarian prime minister:

[Begin Chmel recording] The subject of my talks with Prime Minister Antall was questions concerning construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project and some other issues related to it in terms of Czechoslovak and Slovak-Hungarian relations. One could say that Prime Minister Antall expressed understanding for our viewpoint that this issue should not overshadow other areas of Czechoslovak-Hungarian and Slovak- Hungarian relations, and that it should be put—as he said—into a special compartment. It should not determine in any way political relations between our two states and nations. I believe that in this sense one could only agree with Prime Minister Antall. I believe this is also the viewpoint of our two governments.

At the same time Prime Minister Antall talked about certain additional possibilities for negotiations that might arise, although he went on to stress that at present the attitude of the Hungarian delegation during negotiations on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, held in mixed commissions, is strictly determined by the mandate it has received from the legislature. The mandate says that the Hungarian side wants to abrogate the existing treaty unilaterally and initiate a new treaty. Our attitude is, of course, different; it is to continue the project in accordance with the existing treaty or at least to complete the construction on the Czechoslovak or rather Slovak side.

In this connection the Hungarian prime minister stressed the problem of ethnic minorities, which is topical both in Hungary and in our country is the subject of intensive concern of the present Hungarian Government. I asked him in particular to ensure that the Hungarian Government strove more intensively to look after the welfare of the Slovak minority in Hungary, in particular in the field of education. This means accepting Slovak teachers, priests, and educationists who are willing to go to these areas. Up to now the Hungarian Government has not yet created either material or organizational conditions.

On the whole, we agreed that it is necessary to continue to hold discussions, and I have the feeling that the Hungarian side is conscious of the fact that the scope for maneuvering it has been given by the legislature is less that minimal, and that scope will have to be enlarged in further negotiations. I would say that in this sense the Hungarian prime minister assured me, albeit indirectly, that the Hungarian legislature will discuss this issue. At the same time he suggested that legislative committees—in particular the ecological, but also foreign political ones—should hold joint discussions, reach an agreement on this matter, and submit alternative solutions to their respective governments. [end recording]

USSR Firm on Troop Damage Position

LD0308235991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] The Soviet Union is not willing to negotiate about the environmental damages caused by the soldiers stationed in Hungary, if the Hungarian party insists on its original stance. The Soviet deputy minister for foreign economic relations said this shortly after he cancelled his Budapest visit planned for the weekend. In IZVESTIYA, Admiral Yuriy Grishin called the stance of the Hungarian party rigid. If it is not going to change, he said, Moscow will insist on interpreting the earlier intergovernmental agreements word by word.

Antal Annus gave a statement to the Soviet paper and said that the most suitable solution for Hungary would be an absolute zero solution; that is, if neither of the two countries changes its position.

Talks With Soviets on Troops Continues

LD0208142491 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0530 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Yesterday morning it was still uncertain when the Soviet-Hungarian talks about the financial aspects of the troop withdrawal will continue in Budapest. In the afternoon a letter arrived from the Soviets stating that Admiral Grishin, who is also the deputy minister for external economic affairs, will be arriving to Hungary and Monday with a large delegation.

[Begin recording] [unidentified spokesman] The disrupted talks are now certain since a letter has arrived from Moscow. They will start again at 1000 on Monday in Budapest.

[Reporter] Who is leading the Soviet delegation?

[Spokesman] As is known, the present letter confirms that, Admiral Yuriy Grishin, deputy minister for external economic relations, will be arriving in Budapest with a team of 16 members on Sunday.

[Reporter] How many committees or working groups will be there?

[Spokesman] According to our proposal, which was accepted by the Soviet partner as well, the work will be carried out by four working committees. The most important is the environmental protection group. As far as I know, seven ecologists from the Soviet side will participate.

[Reporter] During the past month a lively correspondence has been going on between the two governments and the two ministries. Do we accept the proposed Soviet closing protocol?

[Spokesman] It is understandable that there should be a lively correspondence, because we wanted the Monday discussions to start after a thorough preparation. To be quite frank, I have to say that Mr. Antal Annus today wrote a letter of reply to Moscow, because there are still differences of opinions concerning the content of the closing protocol. We would like to have these cleared up by Monday morning. [end recording]

Union League Seeks International Help on Debate

LD0408044591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] The Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions is expecting international help to find a solution in the ever sharper debate between the interest representations. Peter Marvany reports.

[Marvany] The Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions has asked the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in a telegram to send a goodwill delegation to Hungary to mediate in the adverse dispute between trade unions. According to the assessment of the League, the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ] is practically placing itself beyond the law when it disregards legislative decisions. With this it endangers the whole of the trade union movement as it could force the government or the legislation to take steps, such as the suspension or dissolution of certain trade unions. Nevertheless, today a government is in power that has not proved socially sensitive, to say the least, so it could use the situation to weaken interest representation, in general, said League Chairman Pal Forgacs.

On the other hand, there is hope that the MSZOSZ has already asked to be admitted to this grouping. Apart from this, as League spokesman (Gabor Mor) said, the MSZOSZ should realize that, I quote, it has landed in a legal state against its will, so it must accept some kind of compromise.

Despite the conflict, the League wishes to discuss together with the government, with the rival Federation, and the other groupings of the interest coordination council the social package plan that was accepted today and that contains a subsistence level allowance as a citizen's right partly for daily food and clothing partly for rent or repayment of housing loan. This is also an issue of avoiding inconceivable consequences. According to the League's experts, hundreds of thousands of families will face difficulties due to the new energy prices from the autumn, and, eventually, they might end up on the street. What the League demands is less than the current subsistence level, but everyone would receive it. According to the package plan, the allowance of the unemployed should be extended to those who cannot receive help according to present ruling, although they are not employed.

Bielecki, Internal Affairs Minister Discuss Laws

LD0208232191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki received today Henryk Majewski, minister of internal affairs. An Internal Affairs Ministry spokesman let it be known that the situation on the borders and amendments to several laws were discussed. The law on foreigners is to be amended, among others. It has been proposed to introduce the so-called deportation arrest that would apply to foreigners, the duration of which would be longer than provided by Polish law at the moment. The spokesman also said that between 13 and 16 August, a ban will be introduced on carrying weapons in three voivodships—Czestochowa, Krakow, and Bielsko. The ban has been introduced in connection with the pope's visit.

Security Issues Discussed

LD0208220591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki received the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW]. The meeting was closed to journalists, but when it was over, Wojciech Wroblewski, MSW spokesman, told us:

[Begin Wroblewski recording] It was a working meeting. Problems connected with state security were discussed. A lot of attention was devoted to assessing the situation on the border. Moreover, heads of departments in the MSW presented legislative work being carried out in the Ministry; it concerns with amendments to the law on foreigners. The issue here is, first and foremost, to create, as in Western countries, a deportation custody. [passage omitted]

We will also raise the issue of the necessity to make amendments to the law on economic activity. The issue here concerns the activities requiring licenses; primarily, it concerns detective agencies and agencies selling weapons. We think that legislature is very liberal, and we practically have no control over the functioning of these institutions. [end recording]

Bielecki Comments on Economic Situation, Change

LD0208185291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] I would like to introduce Stanislaw Soltysik, our correspondent in Katowice. I invited you today to tell our listeners what you discussed with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki on the radio this morning.

[Soltysik] The prime minister's morning visit to the first program and his talks with listeners on the phone and before a microphone lasted over two hours. The morning schedule was specially altered to make room for discussion of the most important issues with our guest. The answers were honest and very much to the point. On industry, the prime minister said that state industry does not have to be worse. A list has been created of firms that can be saved, that have good programs for change; at the same time, there is a list of enterprises for privatization, that is, through liquidation.

[Announcer] Did you return to the Ursus issue?

[Soltysik] Yes, we did, because a rumor has been spreading that a manager of one of the banks, who was recalled by the prime minister, did not want to grant credits, while exactly the contrary is true. The prime minister announced that those who are playing for survival, for survival in situations like that at Ursus, will be firmly dealt with. An early warning system is being created to avoid troubles like those of Ursus, which are very difficult to deal with because of delays resulting from lack of information. Another subject dealt with relations between the government, president, and parliament. The prime minister made an important statement: The government has to be efficient. It is not a question of whether to rule by decree or not, but the most important issue is whether or not the actions are efficient; therefore, new custom regulations, the protection of the home market, including agriculture, a new tax law that are being created, and rules and regulations that have to be stable in general principles.

There is also the question of old age and disability pensions. Here, there were a great number of questions, doubts, and bitterness, often justified. The prime minister announced that a new pension system would be worked out with full awareness that particular groups are determined to defend their privileged position. The draft is near completion, and it is hoped that the Sejm will deal with it soon after the recess; that is, after 20 August. Then, there is foreign trade, mainly with the Soviet Union. Much depends upon the activity of enterprises. Barter trade returned in July. Talks are in progress with the Russian Republic. Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz is going to Moscow soon for general economic talks. Therefore, the government is setting the conditions, but the enterprises have to be more active and involve themselves in the trade game.

Agriculture: This is a major problem and a complex subject. The government has already allocated 2.5 billion zlotys for the procurement of agricultural products. There is some money, though not much, for structural changes; there is an offer from the government, but there has to be the will to make changes on the part of the other side.

Prime Minister Bielecki concluded his conversation with the listeners, which lasted nearly two hours, with a very important statement.

[Begin recording] [Bielecki] The will to make changes constitutes the basis for emerging from the present situation. Without this will, we shall not be able to carry on, and we shall not achieve any success. The countryside has to be guided by the same will.

[Soltysik] How do you gauge the will of Polish society to continue the changes?

[Bielecki] We are now at the most difficult stage. The will appeared to be great last year, but at the moment it is going into decline, especially as during the election campaign, everyone everywhere is trying to prove to the people that a miracle is possible if you vote for him. If 99 percent of such campaigners are going to be like that, then wishful thinking will prevail, and the votes will be cast for those who promise miracles.

[Soltysik] It is difficult to fight it because people want hope, even a hope on paper.

[Bielecki] Well, I would not want to end on such a pessimistic note because it could lead to a conclusion that proved true in some countries. One keeps trying, one fails; everything is disintegrating, and one tries again in four years time. I believe that sooner or later it is going to happen in Poland. But are we going to achieve it on the so-called first attempt? [end recording]

Kolodziejczyk Meets Hungarian, Czech Ministers

LD0208190991 Warsaw PAP in English 1651 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—The defence ministers from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia met in Kracow on Friday to discuss technical and organizational problems stemming from the Vienna treaty.

Ministers Piotr Kolodziejczyk, Lajos Fur and Lubos Dobrovsky exchanged views on the present confidence building measures in the military field pointing to real possibilities to expand their scope.

The ministers also assessed the implementation of bilateral agreements on military cooperation signed earlier this year as satisfactory and pointed to the need for broader contacts in this domain. They also agreed on a system of regular consultations of military officials and experts of the three countries.

Army Officers To Receive Training in U.S., UK

AU0208132391 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Jul 91

['fed' report: "Polish Officers at West Point"]

[Text] Polish officers will receive training at military academies and schools in the United States. This guarantee was made to a Polish Defense Ministry delegation that completed a two-week visit to the United States on 28 July.

Defense Vice Minister Bronislaw Komorowski, head of the delegation, said that three Polish officers have already begun studying in the United States. He said he thought his visit should result in an exchange of scientific workers and groups of students from the military schools of both countries.

The Americans are offering Poland various ways to raise officers' qualifications, ranging from specialized courses lasting several weeks, right up to four-year studies at the academies of individual branches of the U.S. Armed Forces (including the famous West Point).

One month ago Minister Komorowski succeeded in obtaining a similar offer of cooperation from Lord Arran, undersecretary of state for the UK Armed Forces. Polish officers will study at the prestigious Royal Academy of Defense Studies, among other places.

We have learned that the British also intend to train military administrative employees. In addition, they will send English language teachers to Poland and organize special courses through the British Council.

Senate Adopts Resolution on Energy, Coal Mining

LD0208210491 Warsaw PAP in English 1204 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—The Senate adopted a resolution Friday in which it urges the government to draw up by the end of the present year or in the first quarter of 1992, at the latest, a balance-sheet of Poland's energy needs till 1995 and the year 2010.

The resolution also stresses it is necessary that the government prepare a programme for restructuring hard coal mines to enable them to become independent and profitable till the end of 1992.

The resolution asks the government to define powers and organization of work safety services in mines.

The Senate also asked the higher mining office to bring up to date and simplify the work safety regulations for coal mines.

Sejm Discusses Possible Ties With Lithuania

LD0308230191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Members of the Sejm's Foreign Affairs Committee met in Olecko, Suwalki voivodship, today. They are discussing problems in Polish-Lithuanian relations and the possibility of entering into economic and cultural cooperation [word indistinct]. Representatives of economic ministries and northeastern region voivodships are also taking part in the meeting.

A meeting of the Polish parliamentarians with Lithuanian parliamentary deputies is scheduled for tomorrow in Punsk. Matters linked with Polish-Lithuanian economic relations and the problems of national minorities in both countries are to be discussed.

Sejm Officials, Lithuanian Legislators Meet

LD0408210191 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Punsk, Aug. 4—Polish and Lithuanian parliamentarians met in Punsk, north-eastern Poland, on Sunday to discuss the situation of the Polish community in Lithuania and to unveil a monument to Stalinism's victims at nearby Giby. The planned visit of Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Vilnius was also announced during the meeting.

Head of the Sejm (Lower House) Foreign Committee Bronislaw Geremek said that independent Poland had always believed that the Lithuanian nation's right for self-determination is an inalienable right.

However, Geremek said after the meeting, the Lithuanian side did not—because they could not—get Poland's unequivocal statement on Lithuania's independence during the meeting, but he quoted vice-president of Lithuania Bronius Kuzmickas as saying that his country did not expect Poland's official recognition of independence but rather establishing of relations such as those between two independent states.

There are a number of questions to be settled by both countries, among them the question of Polish minority which fears new Lithuanian legislation and would welcome legal guarantees from the Lithuanian government.

Both country's parliamentarians taking part in the meeting wrote a joint statement condemning the assassination of borderguards in Miedniki by "forces hostile to freedom and Lithuanian independence."

"We will keep working to give Lithuania full sovereignty and to develop friendly relations between our states and nations," the statement reads, among other things.

Liberal Party Leader on Election, Constitution

AU0208125091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Jul 91 p 3

[Interview with Donald Tusk, chairman of the main administration of the Liberal-Democratic Congress by Bozena Wawrzewska and Krzysztof Gottesman; place and date not given: "We Do Not Fear an Honest Confrontation"]

[Excerpts] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] Does the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] have any special election program, or is it merely offering the voters its party program?

[Tusk] A problem experienced by all parties, but especially the KLD, is how to turn a party program into an election program. Our program is not particularly suited to serve as an election program. It is a paradox that the more detailed a party program, and the KLD program places particular emphasis on economic matters, the less suitable it is for election purposes. There is no doubt that a program that is supposed to be of use in running the country is not very attractive from a propaganda point of view.

We want an election campaign that is modern by Polish standards, if our finances permit, for money is the key to this type of election campaign, which can be compared to an advertising campaign. We realize that our program is easily defensible in the presence of experts, so we do not fear that our product will be bad. What we do fear is whether we can market it properly. [passage omitted]

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What is the KLD's relationship with the Belvedere like? Are they burdened by the fact that Walesa made Bielecki prime minister? Is there any subservience or dependence on the Belvedere?

[Tusk] We do not want to gain political capital out of the fact that we supported Walesa in the presidential campaign. We are not counting on and we do not expect any support from President Walesa for our election campaign. We do not need it anyway. There is no question about the KLD being dependent on anyone.

Any relationship is based on obvious conditions. I once said there is no automatic support for Walesa. Every president, even Walesa, has to observe the law and democratic processes, and one can imagine situations where the KLD would be unable to cooperate with Walesa. But there is no such situation right now.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] We are on the verge of a great constitutional debate on the situation of all state institutions. What sort of constitutional model does the KLD support?

[Tusk] There is no constitutional model anywhere in the world that suits Poland's situation exactly, particularly because the conversion to a new system has no precedent, and this conversion will take years, not months. Some of the effects of communism will last decades. I think that has some bearing on the constitutional debate. We must assume that we will live with a heap of problems for decades. The constitution should take this country's needs into account, and what this country needs is, among other things, a guarantee of strong, i.e. effective, authority. Therefore, we prefer a system of presidential authority. Weakness of the economy, authorities, police, and administration is probably the Third Republic's most serious disease. I cannot imagine any success in building democracy and a free market without an efficient and strong state within the confines of the law.

Solidarity of Labor Forms Electoral Committee

LD0308234891 Warsaw PAP in English 1903 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 3—The Solidarity of Labour Association and parliamentarians belonging to this grouping formed on Saturday a national electoral committee with Senator Karol Modzelewski being elected its head.

The meeting also set up a provisional board of the association and appointed Deputy Ryszard Bugaj its chairman.

"Our political milieu intends to create a stronger representation in a future parliament," Bugaj told a press conference after the meeting, and added that his grouping had held pre-electoral talks with Solidarity and Solidarity of Private Farmers, and planned to talk with PSL (Peasant) Solidarity.

Modzelewski said electoral committees of Solidarity of Labour would refuse cooperation with post-communist organizations and with members of the Democratic Union and the Centre Alliance of the opposite wing, but declared they would be open for members of other political groupings willing to work with the association.

Solidarity Not Joining Electoral Coalitions

LD0308234991 Warsaw PAP in English 1657 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 3—Addressing a debate of the Solidarity 80 National Commission, union's leader Marian Jurczyk said in Szczecin on Saturday that in order to better fulfill its statutory tasks the organization must have its own representation in the parliament, and added it will run for parliamentary mandates under its own banner.

In another part of the meeting, the commission discussed the prolonged proceedings of registering Solidarity 80 as an all-Poland trade union.

Peasant-Christian Forum Rejects Election Allies

LD0508044291 Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4—The programmatic congress of the Peasant-Christian Forum "Ojcowizna" (Patrimony) did not choose any allies for the upcoming elections. Instead, the forum appointed a political council, with Roman Bartoszcze at the head, and this council will announce future coalitions before August 12. In its programmatic declaration the congress vows to follow Christian values and seek settling accounts with the "errors of the past." In this context Roman Bartoszcze criticized the policy of former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the present cabinet saying that unrests are likely in autumn and the authorities seem to neglect this threat.

PSL-Solidarity Rules Out Election Coalition

LD0408003891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] The Polish Peasant Party [PSL]-Solidarity's National Council has appealed for universal participation in the elections. Assessing the current difficult economic situation, PSL-Solidarity thinks that the reforms which have begun must be pursued to their conclusion after making essential amendments. In a resolution on the agricultural situation, disquiet is expressed at the difficulties farmers are having in selling their produce, and calls on the government to set in motion mechanisms protecting farmers' families (?and their market) are made. The party is also demanding preferential credits for agriculture. Outside the deliberating chamber, PSL-Solidarity authorities ruled out the possibility of a merger of all peasant movements into one coalition. Everything points, however, to other peasant committees besides the National Peasant Committee of the Peasant Accord and the National Committee of the PSL-Programmatic Accord starting in the elections.

PSL-S Calls For Agricultural Protection

LD0308210491 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 3—The National Council of the Polish Peasant Party Solidarity (PSL-S) adopted a resolution Saturday saying that "the first duty of the state is to guarantee food security to the nation."

Voicing appreciation for the recent government decisions aiming at the reduction of imports and prevention of dishonest competition, the PSL-S appealed to the government to launch other mechanisms protecting home agriculture and market.

Another resolution of the National Council reserves the right to use the PSL-S logo in the electoral campaign only to candidates of that party, running in the parliamentary elections from the list "Peasant Alliance".

Ursus Strike Ends; Sit-In Staged at Bialystok

LD0208184191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The three-week, sit-in strike at the Ursus machine plant in Wloclawek has been suspended. The decision was made following assurances about paying overdue remuneration to workers. [passage omitted]

Workers are staging a sit-in at the main depot of the Bialystok municipal transportation enterprise. Mediation efforts by Seweryn Jaworski, a Solidarity-'80 leader, failed. The Bialystok authorities have organized alternative transport on all its routes.

Reportage on Skubiszewski Visit to Uruguay

PY0208172291

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Uruguay, including reports on his talks with President Luis Alberto Lacalle and Foreign Minister Hector Gros Espiell, see the Uruguay section of the 2 August Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Opposition Position on Privatization Bill

AU0208143491 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27-28 Jul 91 p 2

[Daniel Uncu article: "Parliamentary Crisis: What Is the Opposition Doing?"]

[Text] A news conference was organized by the political formations that withdrew from the parliament discussions on the Privatization Bill. The conference was attended by representatives of the National Liberal Party [PNL]; the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd]; the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR]; the National Unity Party of Romanians [PUNR]; the Ecological Party of Romania [PER]; the Ecological Movement of Romania [MER]; the Social Democratic National Salvation Front [FSN-SD]; and the FSN-20 Mai and was held in Bucharest's Arlus hall.

The subjects discussed at this news conference did not differ from the reasons for which the current parliamentary crisis made the government face maybe the most serious motion of no-confidence, which was more or less accepted or pronounced ad literam by the opposition. In other words, as Mr. Radu Campeanu emphasized, this "bill was and is bad!" There are, of course, nuances that have to be stressed, such as the position of the PUNR expressed by Mr. Coriolan Bucur and according to which: "The 30 percent stipulated in the government draft bill, in our view, seems to be correct." Let us briefly sum up the positions of the speakers.

Radu Ceontea (PUNR): "There is external pressure to hurry up the endorsement of this bill, and this pressure is added to domestic ones!"

Sorin Botez (PNL): "We believe that the moment this bill is to be voted in the two chambers of parliament, any kind of discussion is ineffective all the more so since I have not noted the slightest positive intention by the others to seek a viable solution. We believe that the moment this bill is passed, it will not have the moral authority it is supposed to have!"

Sergiu Cunescu (PSDR): "The opposition did not intend to formulate a draft bill that contradicts the one of the government. We have tried to improve it but we encountered deplorable intolerance on the part of the majority group."

Ion Diaconescu (PNT-cd): "In democracy there is no unanimity, just a majority. It is very unlikely for such a bill to be endorsed unanimously, particularly under the given conditions..."

Teodor Vaida (PNL): "We are concerned about the attitude of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania toward this bill; it reflects a certain position... It was a very sensitive attitude toward us. Of course, we were surprised! And this will have serious repercussions even in areas inhabited by Hungarians..."

A new appearance in this respect was that of the representative of the Ecological Movement of Romania. It is known that Mr. Marcian Bleahu returned to the Senate session as MER senator by supporting the Privatization Bill. Moreover, the ambiguous position of MER deputies made us ask Mr. Topliceanu what the explanation was for his presence at this news conference...? His answer was: "I am representing the group of the seven deputies of the Ecological Movement who disagreed with the privatization program put forward by the government. We did not agree with an egalitarian privatization. In the Assembly itself I represented the position of the Arges group..." No comment! Or rather, political opportunism in action...!

One should note the presence of the FSN-SD, which emphasized that this conference, which, in fact, intended to announce a new draft privatization bill by the opposition, does not represent a cartel, but merely the desire to provide the country with a good privatization bill.

As for the rest, everything continues its course—with or without the opposition, be it even a FSN one.

'Political Diversity' Assessed

AU0208133891 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27-28 Jul 91 p 1

[Claudiu Iordache article "Dictatorship Step by Step...."]

[Text] Parliamentary unanimity? How quickly we have achieved it. A single bill was enough to break through the seemingly multiparty facade of Romania's Parliament. The bill in question is the privatization bill but this is not the point. The parliamentary opposition is not afraid of this bill, but it is afraid of those who want to make use of the bill for their own interests. The orchestra of the opposition wants to interpret the scores of the privatization bill but not with those who presumably are going to profit from it as the conductor. This explains the current incident. Whoever believes that political diversity still exists in Romania should swiftly ask for information about the way the proceedings of the Deputies' Assembly progressed last week. When the opposition threatened to withdraw, the majority responded calmly: "How long we have waited for this moment!" In the hot month of July in Bucharest, hypocrites take the masks off their faces and use them as fans. Heated corridors in the Parliament building. Parliamentary factions no longer greet each other. Romania's president senses that the time has come to offer his services as mediator. However, these services, which have often saved the ruling party, are rendered useless by the arrogance of the majority. Petre Roman, or rather the prime minister, has given the sign for the start of an uprising. The president's speech is politely ignored in the best tradition of the cynicism that characterizes politicians. The opposition, worn out by the radicalism of their colleagues on the benches "toward the left," withdraws from the voting hall. The opposition does not understand that this government can play nothing but the card of brutal and absolute victory over a profoundly disoriented opposition. However, neither does the government understand that by making the majority ignore the minority, the former automatically achieves a unanimity of a strictly

communist origin. For the time being, the bill in question is being discussed with feigned seriousness by a dismembered political forum. The opposition wanders through the columns of the press and quibbles about its destiny. It is not getting any help. Apparently, a signature list was started regarding a motion of no confidence in the government. For a government that, once again, demonstrates that it does not need confidence to stay where it is. Has the opposition lost another struggle? I do not think so. On the contrary, it has won without knowing it. With a single gesture it pulled down the curtain on the other side of which untalented actors are savoring their triumph. If I were the opposition I would stand the majority a bottle of Pilsen beer for its stupidity. Dictatorships are knocking at Romania's door, one after another. The last one, as you see, is approaching step by step. For the time being....

National Assembly Activity Reviewed

AU0208143191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1016 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/8/1991—If we think of the Grand National Assembly of the communist age, that amorphous, non-individualized group of people and compare it with the vivid, excited, non-conformist parliament of today, we shall understand the way Romania has already covered towards democracy. [as received] As, says the leading article of the 2 August issue of the daily "DIMINEATA," in spite of the complaints of drastic and intransigent people saying that there is no strong parliamentary opposition in Romania, in spite of the complaints of the prime minister that the parliamentary opposition is not strong enough in Romania, the opposition really exists. It is true, says the article, that the National Salvation Front [FSN] majority has not always been malleable enough, open to concessions, the opposition has not always been reasonable in its demands. There were picturesque moments and moments of tension. The common denominator of the parliamentary debates, of the debates proper was "the cooperation between the majority party and the opposition." It can be said that the parliament formed after the 20 May 1990 elections did not justify the worries of those afraid that the reform will be slowed down, or that the old structures are still at work. The foundation of the new house of Romania is strong. The parliament passed the principles of the new Constitution, by which the powers are separated in the state, human rights are instituted and guaranteed and Romania becomes a strong state. More than 50 laws were adopted, the most important of which are the Land Law and the Law of the Privatisation of Commercial Companies, that try to right wrongs of the former regime and set the economic, social and political structures on new foundations.

With a few exceptions, the parties that joined the Front have observed their political pledge the FSN daily "AZI" points out.

Cooperation in approaching the most difficult problems, more particularly privatization, has been possible. To place the nation's interests above the partisan, sterile political fights in the true key of success. To give up such an aim meant for the political forces that abandoned it, as it was the case of leaving parliament, an actual failure which is likely to be penalized by the electorate either this autumn or next spring. The daily assesses the cooperation between the country's executive and legislative bodies as "exceptional," "highly beneficial in carrying out the reform and in Romania's passage to a market economy."

Asking "what has the parliament not done this year?" the daily "DIMINEATA" shows, inter alia, that not all the urgent laws have been debated before it, yet adding that "haste engenders errors, and these errors have been a burden only to us with which we have had to cope." If we think of where we started from," the Romanian Parliament can be said to have stepped to a new Romania with too large boots on. But if we think where we want to come to [achieve], it had a snail's speed. The best judge is history, still "DIMINEATA" shows in conclusion.

Hungary 'Had Nothing To Do' With Timisoara

LD0308191591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Summary] The trial of the 24 former nomenclaturists who were accused of genocide in the Timisoara events in December 1989 has taken an unexpected turn. The extremist forces as well as moderate circles have tried to prove that Hungary took an active part in sparking off the events.

"Reserve Vice Admiral (Delumare Stefan), one of the witnesses summoned, stated unambiguously in his testimony that Hungary had nothing to do with the developments in Timisoara. What happened was that from the first half of December the military information networks of states to the west of the country moved ever closer to the Romanian border. "Noticing this, Defense Minister General Melea, ordered the chief of staff to establish direct telephone contact with his Hungarian counterpart. From the conversation it was clear that it had been just a usual military exercise.

"After analyzing the data at their disposal, the Romanian military leadership came to the conclusion that Romania had not been threatened by military attack at that time." The vice admiral also stated that they had not received any reports that led them to believe foreign elements had taken part.

Bukovina's Romanian Community's Problems Assessed

AU0508092491 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 Jul 91 p 8

[Interview with Vasile Tariteanu, secretary of the Mihai Eminescu Romanian Cultural Society of Cernauti (Cernovtsy), by Mihai Vicol in Cernauti in July: "Stefan the Great, Persona non Grata in Hotin"]

[Excerpts] [Vicol] How does Ukrainian nationalism express itself?

[Tariteanu] We have nothing against Ukrainian nationalism in the Ukraine. In Bukovina however, it is quite unwelcome, if I may say so. The Ukraine has intensified the policy of changing the Romanian ethnic character of this land. Since 1774, the date of Bukovina's "rape," when the northern part of Moldavia was torn away from the rest of the country, nationalism runs deeper now than ever before.

In Bukovina, the Romanian population amounts to a mere 20 percent. Scores of thousands of Romanians are Romanian only in their identity cards—not because they do not feel Romanian, but because they no longer speak the language at all; they consider Russian and Ukrainian as their mother tongues. The Ukraine's Parliament does not discuss the problems of the Romanians, as if such a community did not exist. This was only to be expected, as the Romanians in the Ukraine have no representative in the republic's Parliament. Who should defend our rights then? The Ukrainian nationalism can also be seen in the attacks perpetrated by the Ukrainian language press against our forefathers Mihai Eminescu, Aron Pumnul, and Ion Nistor. [passage omitted] Stefan the Great [Moldavian ruler] is no longer mentioned in Hotin; neither are other Moldovan kings. On various occasions, the Ukrainians come up with totally absurd ideas, claiming that these lands have never belonged to Dacia or that southern Bukovina is also Ukrainian land, including the city of Galati. [passage omitted]

[Vicol] Who profited most from the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and what is the likelihood of north Bukovina and the Herta district unifying with Romania?

[Tariteanu] Unfortunately this likelihood is minimal. First of all, the Ukrainian Parliament does not recognize that there are territorial problems between Romania and the Ukraine. It does not condemn the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, from which it profited most. Neither Russia nor Germany gained so much—only the Ukraine lay hold of a good chunk of real estate, which it now tries hard to prove was Ukrainian from times immemorial. [passage omitted] Paradoxically, and quite incomprehensible for us, Romania's current leadership does not seem to care about these lands. With such an attitude, it would not surprise me if Romania were to cede even the southern part of Bessarabia, which is claimed by the Ukrainians. [passage omitted] Relations with Romania seem to be tense, following the Romanian Parliament's declaration on the Molotov- Ribbentrop pact, a declaration condemned by the Ukrainian Parliament, which adopted a protest in connection with that declaration.

Federal

Presidency Decision on Cease-Fire Conditions

LD0308081691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0143 GMT 3 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—The session of the SFRY Presidency, chaired by President Stipe Mesic, ended early this morning in Belgrade. The Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, the federal secretaries for foreign and internal affairs, and the deputy federal secretary for national defense attended the session.

The SFRY Presidency considered, according to a statement, a draft decision on an immediate and absolute cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia and a report on implementation of the EC proposal and the joint Brioni Declaration.

The SFRY Presidency adopted the following decision:

Proceeding from the 18th July SFRY Presidency's message to the public and the 22d July Ohrid declaration on a peaceful and democratic denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, and bearing in mind the obligations undertaken under the 7th July joint Brioni Declaration, and on the basis of Articles 244 and 313 of the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency—at the session of 2 and 3 August—adopted a decision for an immediate and absolute cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia.

Article 1

The SFRY Presidency demands that all armed conflicts and other activities jeopardizing peace and the safety of citizens and their property immediately and unconditionally end. This is a significant prerequisite for holding a democratic dialogue to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

Article 2

I. In order to secure a cease-fire, the following stipulations are necessary:

—all armed formations and all armed persons immediately and unconditionally cease fire and refrain from acts that provoke armed conflicts,

—the warring parties immediately end all movements, except for those aimed at avoiding direct contact and withdrawing from flashpoints of crisis,

—forces in direct contact separate immediately and withdraw at least beyond the range of firearms; mortar and other weapons are must be withdrawn to a point behond their maximum range from the separation line.

II. The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is responsible for organizing the control of the separation zone; the control will be carried out by joint bodies composed of representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Ministries for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia.

III. Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units and internal afairs bodies of the SFRY and the Republic of Croatia will dname a communications officer who will ensure the mutual exchange of information and coordinate all activities aimed at securing a cease-fire and preventing possible incidents, including providing information about necessary movements of the armed forces and YPA units.

Article 3

The SFRY Presidency will set up a commission whose task is to oversee the implementation of this decision. The following are members of the Commission:

—the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, to be chairman of the commission,

—members of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia, Bosnia- Hercegovina, and Slovenia,

—the SFRY Assembly vice president,

—the federal secretary for national defense,

—the federal secretary for internal affairs,

—the federal secretary for justice and administration,

—the secretary to the Federal Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order to be secretary of the commission.

The commission will cooperate with the relevant bodies in the Republic of Croatia.

In order to carry out its tasks, the commission will determine its organizational form; it is empowered to set up working groups, mixed commissions, and contract experts.

The commission is duty-bound to inform constantly the SFRY Presidency and the government of the Republic of Croatia, as well as the domestic and international public, about the implementation of the decision.

Specially marked transport vehicles, technical personnel, and if necessary, escorts, will provide for the work of the Commission and its working bodies.

Article 4

Proceeding from the established frameworks, agreements, and cooperation with the EC, as well as from the SFRY Presidency's positions on the possible presence of an EC observer mission, the commission—at the behest of the Republic of Croatia and whenever necessary—can propose to the SFRY Presidency the manner and extent of the further engagement of an EC observer mission aimed to oversee a cease-fire and truce.

The commission will cooperate with representives of the EC observer mission on the mission's tasks.

Article 5

The commission will propose to the SFRY Presidency the methods, order, and manner of implementing Articles 1 and 2 of the SFRY Presidency's decision of 12 July.

Article 6

This decision comes into force on the day it is approved and published in the public information media.

All members of the SFRY Presidency, apart from President Stipe Mesic, approved the decision.

The decision accepts all proposals of the Republic of Croatia, apart from a remark on the appointment of the chairman of the commission of the SFRY Presidency, which will oversee the implementation of this decision. Bearing this in mind, the commission was enlarged to encompass members of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Slovenia.

Consultations on future meetings and talks with the EC ministerial mission at the SFRY Presidency were held at the session of the SFRY Presidency.

Kostic Accuses Mesic of 'Deceiving' EC Mission

LD0408185291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1754 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav State Presidency from the Republic of Montenegro Branko Kostic today accused Presidency President Stipe Mesic of "deceiving the members of the European Community mission and the public".

Following the failure of the E.C. mission to Yugoslavia, Kostic told reporters that, in opening the Presidency session which was also attended by the E.C. ministerial troika, Mesic created an impression that "the session was being boycotted by some Presidency members".

The Presidency members from the Republic of Serbia and its provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina did not attend the session.

Kostic said that, at its session on Friday, the Presidency had decided that he and President Mesic, Janez Drnovsek and Vasil Tupurkovski—representatives of the Republics of Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia respectively—should meet with the troika, after which a working luncheon was scheduled for all Presidency members.

"I do not know how it happened that member of the Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina Bogic Bogicevic and Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic attended the session", he added.

Kostic said that Mesic had also tried to circumvent the agreement reached in the Presidency on Friday and bring the presidents of the Yugoslav republics to today's session, "but he obviously failed".

He recalled that the Yugoslav Presidency on Friday adopted a decision on a ceasefire between Croatian armed formations and Serbs in Croatia, but added that it had been established at that time that a memorandum on extending the powers of the E.C. observers to the Republic of Croatia would not be signed today.

According to Kostic, it was agreed that a Presidency ceasefire monitoring commission first define measures for implementing the Presidency's decision on disarming paramilitary formations, storing arms and returning the army to barracks, after which the presidency was to consider the possibility of an E.C. engagement.

Kostic told reporters he had intervened after the misunderstanding at the Presidency session and informed the EC ministers that the meeting was originally scheduled to be attended by only four Presidency members, and not all of them.

I also informed the E.C. ministerial troika that the Yugoslav state leadership maintains that at present, there are no conditions for signing the E.C. memorandum, he added.

Kostic noted with regret that "the Dutch minister arrived with a drafted solution in his pocket" which proved impossible for implementation.

"I explained to Mr van den Broek that I regret to see that the European Community, despite its best intentions, failed to come to grips with the core of the problem in Croatia," he said. "The European Community accepted the thesis that what is involved in Croatia is the conflict between the Serbs and the Croats, and not between the Croatian armed formations and the Serbian people who live there," said Kostic.

"Croatian authorities should stop sending armed formations on the Serbian people and shooting at the Yugoslav People's Army, if a peaceful solution is to be reached," he added.

Kostic also expressed dissatisfaction with van den Broek's statement following the meeting with the Slovenian leadership, "because this republic, like Croatia, does not respect the three-month moratorium it has committed itself to."

Despite gurarantees from the E.C., Slovenia and Croatia continue to block the work of the Federal parliament and pass regulations contrary to the Federal Constitution, he said and added that Slovenia also refused to participate in the work of the Federal government and to pay customs revenues to the federal account.

EC Troika's 'Failure' Examined

LD0408162591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 4 Aug 91

["What Was Not Signed Today in the Palace of the Federation"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)— The essence of today's failure by the EC troika lies in the fact that it failed to win over all key political factors of Yugoslavia into signing a document on a cease-fire and the initiation of negotiations on the country's future. This document was to have been signed by Stipe Mesic for the SFRY Presidency; Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic; Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic; and all six republican presidents.

The document—composed by the members of the troika—starts from the decision of the state Presidency on an urgent and absolute cease-fire in Croatia. It was envisaged that all military formations and armed persons would refrain immediately and unconditionally from opening fire and cease all their activities which could cause armed clashes. It was also planned that all paramilitary forces except police forces, as well as irregular units, be disarmed. The demobilization of all reservist forces of Croatia was also required.

A seperate part of the document called for control of the ceasefire. This control, as the troika proposed, would be exercised jointly by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army , the competent organs of Croatia, and representatives of the Serbian population in Croatia. Along with prior agreement that the mandate of the mission of the EC observers be extended also to Croatia, it was envisaged that these observers would take part in joint patrols, on condition that their security be guaranteed.

Finally, the document of the troika envisaged that negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia begin at the latest by 15 August.

Mesic on EC Mission Failure

LD0408171691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 91

[News conference by SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic with unidentified correspondents in Belgrade on 4 August—recorded]

[Text] The aim of the European ministerial mission was to secure the signing of a memorandum on understanding and agreement that should have stopped the war and facilitated the start of talks on the country's future. At the outset, when the representatives of Serbia failed to appear at the Palace of Federation, one could predict that the talks were not going to yield results. Following the announcement to the press by the Dutch minister, Van Den Broek, that the troika was unsuccessful and that its was pointless to continue the talks because there was no political will to reach an agreement, Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency, pointed out who was to blame for the failure. He said:

[Begin recording] [Mesic] Serbia.

[Correspondent] Is Serbia the only one to blame for what is happening?

[Mesic] No, it is not Serbia alone, but it is one of those to blame, the one to blame most.

[Correspondent] Be precise. Is it Serbia?

[Mesic] Serbia bears most of the blame. They did not even show up. You saw it. They are not interested in talks. One should now seek a truce because the European mission ended in failure. We are now left with our own means, our own attempts to seek a solution. If there is no peace, the world will have to get involved in one way or another.

[Correspondent] Do you think the Croatian side is ready to make concessions?

[Mesic] It is Croatia that is calling for monitoring, for observers. Croatia is demanding that an honest assessment of the situation be made; at the same time it is being accused. There is no logic in that.

[Correspondent] This state of affairs has already been established. Yesterday the Croatian Assembly accused Serbia of being an aggressor.

[Mesic] Listen, can you imagine that two days ago Croatian police found in a little village—there are only 50 or so houses in the village, in Dalmatia—a number of high-caliber machine guns, a number of mortars, and enough munitions to equip a large wartime unit? Please do not tell me this is an unarmed people. Someone has armed these people, someone is providing them with arms and equipment so they can oppose the legal authorities.

[Correspondent] No one is talking about an unarmed people. Everyone is armed.

[Correspondent] How is the Yugoslav Presidency affected exactly by what happened today—given the fact that your work was incomplete?

[Mesic] Our work was not incomplete. We agreed to meet today at 1000; that is, four members of the Presidency, and then all members of the Presidency should have met at lunch after 1200. You saw which members of the Presidency failed to appear.

[Correspondent] So what does this mean as far as the Yugoslav Presidency is concerned?

[Mesic] This means nothing. This was not a session, this was a talk with the European troika. Of course, this is a critical moment. All I am saying is that there was no session. The session will be held and the Presidency will continue to operate normally.

[Correspondent] When will this session be held?

[Mesic] I do not know. The State Commission plans to meet today and will probably suggest a modality of truce and methods to establish this truce.

[Correspondent] Does that mean you accept the commission?

[Mesic] I do accept the commission, by all means, but I still maintain that someone who does not assume a neutral stance cannot head such a commission.

[Correspondent] Who is responsible for this failure?

[Mesic] Well, those who did not attend the talks.

[Correspondent] Who is that?

[Mesic] I believe that we all know some basic math.

[Correspondent] No, we do not know. Tell us.

[Mesic] Serbia's representatives did not show up.

[Correspondent] Who is to decide who is neutral?

[Mesic] If someone accuses, in advance, only one party, then he is obviously not neutral. Branko Kostic has already accused Croatia; therefore, he is not neutral. Serbia and Croatia are not members of this commission. We are talking about the president of the commission.

[Correspondent] What can be done to restore an atmosphere conducive for talks, peaceful talks? It seems that this is a problem of atmosphere.

[Mesic] No, the problem rests with political ambitions. The problem is about the borders. The stories that say that all Serbs should live within one state do not mean that one is fighting for the rights of the Serbs in another state, but that one is fighting for the territories where Serbs live. [end recording]

Mesic Expects Implementation of Control Commission

LD0408175491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 04 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—"We now expect the Yugoslav presidency's commission for controlling the urgent and absolute ceasefire in the Republic of Croatia to go into action," Presidency President Stipan Mesic said today in response to a question from a journalist, who asked him what would happen now that the European Community (E.C.) had given up on Yugoslavia.

Mesic was speaking after the unsuccessful conclusion of the E.C. "troika's" mission in Yugoslavia. The commission must now work towards establishing dialogue between the feuding sides, Mesic said, adding that "while we are talking here a war is being waged in Croatia."

Should these efforts fail, the E.C. will have to find a new way to get involved - everything that is happening here also concerns the world, Mesic said.

Asked how he can trust a commission which is headed by Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic, whose appointment was opposed by Mesic, the Yugoslav Presidency President said the Croatian Assembly had yesterday refused to recognize Kostic's appointment.

"Kostic is a wise man and will realize that if one side in the conflict does not accept him he will have to step down from the post," Mesic said, adding that "anyone who is neutral, i.e. any Presidency member who did not openly support outlaws and ask them to continue to oppose the Croatian authorities" could be appointed to head the commission.

Belgrade Daily Criticizes Foreign Interference

LD0408125191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1155 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Belgrade POLITIKA daily writes today that irrefutable evidence exists that Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria are materially assisting and encouraging secessionists in Yugoslavia.

"It is right from these states that enormous quantities of up-to-date arms and materiel are being moved to Slovenia and Croatia even today when these activities have been unmasked amongst international public," the daily says.

"German and Austrian experts," says the paper, "are actively present in Slovenia"s and Croatia"s military formations not only as instructors but also as immediate executors of military confrontations with the units of the Yugoslav People"s Army (YPA)."

POLITIKA writes that "Slovene military pilots, who deserted from the YPA, are being trained in Austria," while the said european states, especially Germany, "openly advocate the recognition of Slovenian and Croatian statehood although they are well aware that these Yugoslav republics had proclaimed sovereignty by unilateral acts."

The paper assesses that all this serves an old ambition to "materialize presence in these areas."

The paper says that the rest of Europe does not favour the disintegration of Yugoslavia but warns of a clear indication that the other countries, except for Great Britain to some extent, and France especially, "have not yet opposed those states that prop up the secessionists and have not forced them to adjust their conduct to the principles of the CSCE and international law."

POLITIKA says that "a conspiring behaviour" by part of Europe towards Yugoslavia has shown that Yugoslavia"s crisis has become a serious test for Europe and suggests that the "vehicles of this dangerous and immoral play towards Yugoslavia are jeopardizing Europe"s stability."

Hence, says the paper, "it would be good for Europe to muster up strength to halt or even sanction the behaviour of its members which see Yugoslavia"s feuds as the chance of unleashing old territorial claims."

Military Chief Not Against Peaceful Secession

LD0208155791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1450 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Rome, August 2 (TANJUG)—The Army will not use force to make the Slovenes and Croats stay in Yugoslavia if they do not want it, Yugoslav Deputy Defence Secretary Admiral Stane Brovet said in an interview to the Italian daily LA STAMPA.

"The only point we insist on is that the process be democratic and peaceful," he told the paper's Belgrade correspondent.

"The Federal Army is not opposed to a political, democratic and peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav problem. We do not want to interfere in political dialogue and we respect the will of the people whatever it may be, but we will never allow the use of arms to bring about secession," he said.

The interviewer noted that Admiral Brovet did not meet many journalists but that he now made an exception in order to counter "one-sided misinformation" directed against the Army.

"It has been a year since some began writing that the Army was preparing a coup and that it was about to attack Croatia. As a Slovene, I am ashamed. They were spreading these lies to cover up the militarisation of their own peoples," said Admiral Brovet.

"Through their slanders about a military coup, they have indoctrinated and intimidated people while at the same time buying and distributing arms. After using them, they began to spread other lies, calling us aggressors and occupiers," he said.

Admiral Brovet illustrated his statement by showing the white book on the violation of human rights by "Slovene rebels" during the brief war, said the paper, adding that to Admiral Brovet, "This is a simple truth which history will prove."

Admiral Brovet said that the Yugoslav Army "is not an Army of Serbs and Montenegrins but has always been a multi-ethnic Army," although the number of Serbs in its ranks was lately growing "because some Croats have deserted and Slovenes are allowed to go."

Asked whether the hawks in the Army and the republican governments should be removed in order to restore confidence, Admiral Brovet reiterated that "the Army is not engaged in politics and it is the only force not linked to the ambitions of any particular leader."

Asked whether he, like many others, believes that it would be good for Yugoslavia if "Serbian and Croatian hawks, Milosevic and Tudjman," left the political scene, Admiral Brovet said: "Some others too."

Army Paper Assails Croat Intelligence Service

LD0408123191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1050 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—The illustrated weekly of Yugoslavia's armed forces NARODNA ARMIJA writes in its latest issue about the intellgence-subversive activities of the Croatian intelligence service (HOS), which was to the maximum making use of the SS and the KGB totalitarian police systems.

According to the weekly, the HOS has under the slogan "Croatia above all", in just under one year managed to establish a police- control and repressive apparatus of awesome proportions.

The first goal was to achieve insight into each individual, social group, party and field of social activity in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, and the second was, warnings, arrests and physical elimination of anyone who threatened Croatia's "sovereignty", writes NARODNA ARMIJA.

To illustrate the action of such a system the weekly cites the statement of former Croatian interior minister Josip Boljkovac that the HOS will be made up of three parts - the existing department of state security, the intelligence network of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) party and the intelligence service at the Republican Defense Ministry.

As the opposition parties in Croatia were just a decor to the ruling HDZ, the focus of the HOS activities - the weekly writes - was turned towards informant action and subversive-terrorist activities against the Serbian factor in Croatia and the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), especially against the YPA units stationed in Croatia.

Apart from Croatia, the HOS was actively engaged in collecting information about the facilities and units of the YPA in the neighboring Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, collaborating closely with the Republic of Slovenia's "Varnostna Informativna Sluzba" and "Oodelenje 09" - intelligence services, sets out NARODNA ARMIJA.

One of the main goals of the HOS's propaganda activity in the present situation, according to the paper, was to prevail on as many as possible members of the YPA to desert and come over to the side of the Croatian armed formations.

The weekly says that transportation of those who fled their YPA units has been organized at meeting points in Dubrovnik, Split, Rijeka, Zagreb and Osijek, all of them cities in Croatia.

One of the significant forms of activity of the HOS was infiltrating agents among refugees fleeing to Serbia from Croatia. According to the Red Cross organization in Serbia, some 33,500 refugees have been registered so far on Serbian territory, mostly women and children.

"The HOS in Bosnia-Hercegovina - through the HDZ branch offices - was forming and arming the guard," writes NARODNA ARMIJA and concludes that it was highly unlikely that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Interior Ministry was unaware of this activity, which, apart from the security of the YPA, also seriously threatened the security of this republic.

International

NIN Accuses Germany, Austria of Supplying Arms

LD0208141691 Hamburg DPA in German 1044 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade (DPA)—Serbia's most important political magazine has again accused the Federal Republic and Austria of having supplied weapons to Slovenia and Croatia. In Belgrade today the respected magazine NIN writes that "a complete army of 100,000 men could be equipped with these weapons." NIN says the authorities in these countries must also have known about this, because such large quantities of weapons could not have been concealed from their intelligence services. [passage omitted]

A Bonn Defense Ministry spokesman has denied the allegations as "absurd and malicious" and obviously aimed at "poisoning the atmosphere." The Bundeswehr has never had instructors in Yugoslavia, nor have weapons been supplied to the Yugoslav Federal Army or to individual republics from Bundeswehr stocks. The only contact between the Bundeswher and the Yugoslav Federal Army was that for years individual Yugoslav officers now and again took part in courses at the Bundeswehr's staff college in Hamburg.

According to the Economics Ministry in Bonn, no authorization for the export of military weapons to Yugoslavia has been issues since 1975. Since the end of 1990, supplies of sports weapons and hand guns have also not been allowed. So far, there is no evidence of illegal arms supplies from Germany.

Tudjman News Conference on EC Failure

LD0408203591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 4 Aug 91

[News conference by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb on 4 August—live—monitored in progress]

[Excerpts] [Tudjman] ...of the Council of Ministers has ended its work. I refer here to the troika of the past, current, and future chairman. Unfortunately, the EC goodwill mission yielded no desired effects—almost no results at all. The gentlemen have returned to Europe. Their statements, or rather the statement by Minister van der Broek, you have already heard. I myself did not attend that news conference. Still, the gentlemen were disappointed with the attitude of some protagonists in the talks, which demonstrated an absence of goodwill to find solutions acceptable to all involved in talks from Yugoslavia and, by implication, from Europe. We in the Republic of Croatia consider it very important that the top representatives of the EC have had the opportunity to personally find out about the situation and about the standpoints of all parties. In contrast to our desire to reach an agreement on a cease-fire and the monitoring of it, representatives of Serbia displayed no goodwill about achieving this. As far as we could learn, even what we accepted during the talks last night was to be [word indistinct] by a special document.

A joint meeting of all republican presidents with the EC did not take place because of the failure of the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro to appear. The president of Bosnia-Hercegovina did not attend either, but he is on vacation and sent someone in his place. As a consequence, no meeting took place of the entire Presidency because the representatives of Serbia failed to turn up. The only one to attend was a member of the Presidency from Montenegro, Vice President Kostic, who appeared today and with whom the EC representatives had talks, but without any success.

We are pleased also with the fact that in their talks with us, the representatives of the EC—I do not know if they told the public about this—told us that the Yugoslav crisis is of such importance for Europe that they will not abandon efforts and will inform all the EC members and consider future steps. In other words, we can expect that the EC will not wash its hands of us and that, on the contrary, efforts will be stepped up by the EC and the international community in general.

[Unidentified speaker] Now a few questions. Bear in mind that tomorrow there is a regular news conference here at 1100.

[Unidentified reporter] [words indistinct] What is your stand on the present situation in Croatia? Is this still an ethnic conflict or is this a real war?

[Tudjman] This is a war by the Republic of Croatia [corrects himself] a war by the Republic of Serbia against Croatia, aided and abetted by parts of the Army and by using a section of the Serbian-Chetnik population in [word indistinct].

[passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter, in English with superimposed Serbo- Croatian translation] What conditions need to be fulfilled for a declaration of war to be made by Croatia in Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] As you can see, we have so far wished to avoid war. As a result, you see, in particular we wish to avoid something our opponent is imposing on us constantly—us being held up as the one who caused the start of the war. So, you must seek the answer to your question in our endeavors and intentions to avoid war. To this end, the Croatian Assembly adopted a law on the freezing of relations with Serbia, and the Croatian government will also take concrete steps regarding the

residence of the Yugoslav Army on Croatian territory. In any event, Croatia will, at the same time as taking political and diplomatic steps to internationalize the conflict, take all steps to strengthen its defense forces.

[passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter] Is the EC really abandoning Yugoslavia, since Tudjman said that in their talks with him the EC minister did make certain promises?

[Tudjman] [words indistinct] necessary truce and cease-fire for monitoring the truce with the help of joint patrols of the Yugoslav Army and Croatian forces, with the participation of representatives of the Serbian population in certain areas, not [word indistinct], but representatives of the Serbian population, and with the possibility of involvement by the EC observers. This was of crucial importance [word indistinct].

Engagement of EC Forces 'Out of the Question'

LD0408124391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1141 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 4 (TANJUG)—Jacques Poos, a member of the EC ministerial mission in Yugoslavia and the foreign minister of Luxembourg, said that the engagement of EC armed forces in the Yugoslav crisis was out of the question at the moment.

'This was not discussed during our two-day stay in Yugoslavia', Poos said.

Before meeting with the members of the Yugoslav State Presidency this afternoon, Poos said that the meeting will be attended by the presidents of all six Yugoslav republics.

He said that the European envoys might have another meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic during the day. They already had two meetings with Milosevic.

On this morning's talks with Yugoslav Defence Minister General Veljko Kadijevic, Poos said it was "a very interesting meeting" and that they discussed the contents of the new memorandum of agreement on extending the mandate of the EC observer mission to the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Asked whether he was an optimist prior to the meeting with the Yugoslav Presidency, Poos said he was neither optimistic nor pessimistic.

Croatia

Croatian Assembly Issues Conclusions

LD0308195191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—On the basis of Article 2 of the constitution of the Republic of Croatia and the constitutional decision on the sovereignty and autonomy of the Republic of Croatia; —While fully upholding the political assessment of the causes behind the crisis and war, as well as the path to peace, presented in the appeal of the president of the Republic of Croatia to the domestic and international public and the reply of the presidency of the Croatian Assembly to the assemblies of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro; —Bearing in mind the open aggression against the Republic of Croatia, as seen in threats to its sovereignty, autonomy, and territorial integrity, the killing of its citizens, destruction of economic and cultural goods, and other crimes inconceivable in the civilized world; —Proceeding from the fact that the Croatian people and all other citizens of the Republic of Croatia should resolutely resist the greater Serbian outlaws and the occupying force of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA]. —Having repeatedly asserted its commitment to peaceful, gradual, and democratic dissociation from the present SFRY, while not retreating from the full sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia; and —Respecting the principles of the Helsinki Act, the Paris Charter, and the Brioni Declaration,

On 3 August the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia adopted the following conclusions:

1. The communist authorities of the Republic of Serbia—with the help of the YPA—are waging an aggressive and expansionist policy toward the Republic of Croatia by instigating and openly assisting terrorists and their collaborators in Croatia to seize the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

For this reason the Republic of Croatia is freezing all relations with the Republic of Serbia for as long as this policy by Serbian officials is in force, a time-frame the Government of the Republic of Croatia will decide upon.

2. The unannounced aggression, that is without cause, has been waged against Croatia for a long time now.

This is a hidden, perfidious, and dirty war imposed on Croatia; so far, it has taken numerous human lives and caused enormous material damage, even destroying whole villages.

Parts of the YPA, aided by terrorist outlaw units, have also directly or indirectly taken part in the aggression against Croatia, which is organized by the Republic of Serbia.

Some of the terrorists are recruited from within a smaller part of members of the Serbian people in Croatia, who have been indoctrinated by greater Serbian and Chetnik ideologies.

Based on untruths and historical falsifications, militarism, and greater Serbian hegemonism, the present behavior of the state bodies of the Republic of Serbia cannot represent the basis for a constructive and peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

3. Since the founding of post-war Bolshevik Yugoslavia, the YPA has always been an important political lever. Today it is a part of the communist Army leadership that, while offering resistance to the inevitable democratic transformation of society, is out of control and now represents a threat to democratically elected authorities in the republics.

Part of the Army has directly sided with the terrorists.

4. Recent aggressive attacks on Croatian areas have destroyed villages. Thousands of families have fled their homes and become refugees, in accordance with the terrorists' genocidal plans to create ethnically pure Serbian areas in the Republic of Croatia.

On behalf of all citizens who have received help, the Croatian Assembly is publicly expressing its gratitude to all individuals, families, and humanitarian, business, and other organizations that have offered their help, and calls on them to express solidarity with refugees in the future.

5. In thsi regard, the Croatian Assembly urges the government of the Republic of Croatia to immediately take all necessary measures to mobilize all defense forces.

Enterprises and health, social, and other services must immediately adapt their organizations, personnel, and activities to the emergency defense situtions and the real needs of the population, subordinating everything to the defense of democracy and the territorial integrity of the republic.

All state services and the whole nation must adapt their activitis to the conditions in which the Republic of Croatia finds itself.

6. In a situation in which the Republic of Croatia is exposed to open aggresion on its territory, the most important task of all citizens is to defend the homeland, according to their abilities and obligations, including all state and political structures, as well as representatives in the Croatian Assembly.

7. The assembly of the Republic of Croatia believes that the republic's information media should carry out their task of truthful and objective information dissemination to the domestic and international public concerning events in Croatia in a more effective way.

8. The assembly of the Republic of Croatia expresses its thanks to all Croatians outside the homeland for all the support they have given so far and will give to a free Croatia in its efforts to defend and develop the republic.

9. The assembly of the Republic of Croatia thanks the international community for its assistance to Croatian democracy and urges the parliaments of the democratic states of the whole world to recognize the Republic of Croatia, which was set up by its constitution as a democratic and social state based on the rule of law.

In this connection, the assembly of the Republic of Croatia approves the letter that its president sent to the parliaments of European states and to the bodies of international organizations.

10. The YPA has not withdrawn to its barracks, a gross violation of the agreement with the EC. As a result, the organs of the Republic of Croatia cannot establish any legal order where it has been destroyed. All this indicates that individual military officers have not renounced their adventurist plans for a military campaign against Croatia.

For those reasons, citizens of the Republic of Croatia consider parts of the YPA to be an occupation force.

As a result, the assembly of the Republic of Croatia, as the representative body of its citizens, demands that the YPA withdraw to its barracks without delay and from the territory of the Republic of Croatia in the appropriate time in the process of dissociation.

The assembly of the Republic of Croatia demands that the president of the Republic of Croatia and the government of the Republic of Croatia take the necessary steps to implement the conclusions of the assembly.

11. The assembly of the Republic of Croatia calls on all international organizations dealing with the protection of human rights and the rights of national minorities to send their representatives to Croatia so that they might assure themselves of the real state of the civil, human, and national rights of the Serbs and all other nationalities living in Croatia.

12. Branko Kostic, member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro, by his previous activities and especially by his expression of support for greater Serbian hegemonism and his incitment to disobedience and violence toward the legal organs of authority of the Republic of Croatia, has been discredited in terms of taking any action, within the organs of the federal authorities of the SFRY, on with current circumstances in Croatia.

13. The assembly accepts the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 3 August 1991 on an immediate and absolute cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia and considers as necessary every initiative and every effort, especially by the EC, to establish an urgent cease-fire in Croatia. Hence, the mission of European observers and all other forms of direct participation by Europe to resolve the crisis is unevitable and welcome. At the same time, the assembly protests decisively and in the sharpest terms, for the reasons mentioned above, the appointment in the SFRY Presidency of Branko Kostic as head of the cease-fire commission.

14. The assembly of the Republic of Croatia calls on YPA members, the Serbs in Croatia, and all other nationalities in Yugoslavia not to take part in the actions and activities of violence and the hostilities in the Republic of Croatia and to oppose by joint action the

communist imperialism of the Republic of Serbia and the communist-Stalinist structures of the YPA and federal organs.

15. General Zivota Abramovic was the commander of the 3d Military District and in charge of Kosovo until early July this year.

By grossly violating human rights, General Zivota Abramovic carried out his task of pacifying Kosovo, following which the Republic of Serbia was condemned by the world public and a number of parliaments of the world's democratic countries, including the European Parliament.

It is a fact that this same general has been appointed commander of the 5th Military District, whose authority stretches over a considerable part of the Republic of Croatia.

The Croatian Assembly regards this appointment a blatant provocation.

16. The assembly of the Republic of Croatia is appointing a commission for crimes against the civilian population and humankind on the territory of the Republic of Croatia during this aggression.

The assembly charges its presidency to appoint the commission members.

Greguric Addresses Croatian Assembly

LD0308170791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Speech by Croatian Prime Minister Designate Franjo Greguric to the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, esteemed representatives of other parties which are together with us in the Croatian Assembly today; I would like to—if you agree—divide my speech into two parts. The first presents government directions for the next mandate. Following that, I will introduce the government members in line with the list you received. Likewise, or at the same time, in that second part I will read out an agreement signed by parties which are taking part in the work of the Croatian Assembly.

Directions, which you have received, briefly outline the situation in the Republic of Croatia and its economy. I believe that there is no need to read out that part because it would take too much time and also because Mr. Manolic presented a detailed picture about the situation. This is one reason. [passage omitted]

I believe that the other part ought be read out. Please, allow me to do so:

The basic directions for the activity of the government of democratic unity in the next mandate.

The basic directions for the government activity are based on regulations of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the first republican constitution adopted following the first democratic and multiparty elections since the war.

Economic objectives: The government will seek intensively optimum solutions and instruments for conducting an independent macro-economic policy in order to implement objectives and tasks from the established strategic policy for economic development of the Republic of Croatia.

Government political goals: The government of democratic unity will further the democratic character of the Republic of Croatia. Sovereignty, freedom, equality, national equality, peace, social justice, human rights, inviolability of property, the rule of law, and a democractic, multiparty system are the highest values of the Croatian constitutional system and fundamental principles of conduct for this Croatian government. [passage omitted]

Peace is a necessary prerequisite for the realization of the above objectives. Peace should be reached by political means, if possible. Under these—one could say extraordinary—circumstances, and at these decisive times for the republic, the best protection against undemocratic and hegemonic tendencies is a further protection of the democratic liberties of free citizens of sovereign Croatia. [passage omitted]

Territorial Defense must be given a dominant role in increasing the defense capability of the republic. In this respect we can learn a great deal from the experience of the Slovene Territorial Defense. [passage omitted]

If large-scale clashes occur it is necesary to secure basic conditions for work and the everyday life of the population, which means that crisis programs must be drafted. The program would have to cover, above all, basic foods production and energy supply, and the minimum functioning of public services, including elementary social welfare of endangered people, especially refugees. [passage omitted]

The proposed government is the first cross-party government, a government of democratic unity, whose aim is to rally all relevant political factors on the defense and spread of democracy, sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

[passage omitted] Now a few words on [words indistinct] defense. [sentence indistinct] it should be said that we lost not because of the lack of weapons, but because of bad organiztion. This is a fact, and we cannot escape it. [applause] Our common duty and responsibility is to try to strengthen defense with people who can take upon themselves the burden of war on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. [passage indistinct]

The agreement between Assembly parties on the government of democratic unity, signed in Zagreb on 2 August 1991, reads:

War, destruction, and suffering of the civilian population, members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and the National Guard, and the ensuing mass exodus of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia from the war-infested towns and villages are threatening general catastrophy for the republic and its population. In these dramatic times, the Republic of Croatia must preserve its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and democratic character. Hence, leaders of political parliamentary parties have approved the following basis for the activity of the Croatian Government:

First, efficient defense of the Republic of Croatia [words indistinct] will be organized, and the rule of law on its entire territory will be established.

Second, the people will be protected in the crisis-ridden areas, irrespective of their national affiliation; return of all refugees to their homes will be ensured and necessary assistance in re-establishing conditions for normal life will be provided.

Third, conditions will be secured for a democratic resolution to the problem of coexistence of the Croatian nation and parts of the Serbian and other nations living in the Republic of Croatia.

Fourth, economic conditions will be secured for the defense of the republic by furthering the market economy and private property.

Fifth, the process of dissociation from Yugoslavia will be hastened. [applause]

Sixth, democracy will be developed in all parts of the society, especially regarding the functioning of the bodies of power and the public information media.

Seventh, effective cooperation will be established in the field of mutual relations and communication links with all republics and provinces that recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, its territorial integrity, and the legitimacy of its democratically elected authorities, and which agree to receive international help.

Eighth, strict observation of constitutionally enshrined human rights and liberties will be ensured, as well as the rights of minorities, at the highest European and Civilizational level with internal and, if necessary, international supervision.

Ninth, the government will form republican, regional, and local bodies to defend the republic. In doing so, it will ensure that various political parties will take part in it.

The government of the Republic of Croatia, to be voted in by the Assembly, is charged with developing and implementing the proposed program. To this end, leaders of political parties have approved the composition of the government of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

Mesic Urges Rejection of Kostic as Commission Head

LD0308090591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0724 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Address by SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic to an emergency session of the Croatian Assembly in Zagreb—live]

[Text] Mr. President, esteemed deputies: Quite likely you heard this morning on the radio or read in the newspapers that a decision on the enforcement of a cease-fire was made early this morning. The decision was made a few days ago, but you know how the cease-fire has been enforced so far. Now a decision has been made on how to implement it; in fact, this is an attempt to avoid internationalization of this conflict.

I demanded that the aggressor be named, and the Republic of Serbia is the aggressor. Serbia did not accept that.

I demanded that the Army withdraw to the barracks, and if it leaves, then it can do so only at the request of the Republic of Croatia. This was rejected.

The proposal that the Army withdraw from the borders of Croatia so Croatia would be out of range of its weapons was also rejected. The proposal that aircraft and helicopters not fly over Croatian villages and towns was rejected.

It was accepted that a cease-fire be established, that a control zone be set up from which all armed formations will withdraw, and that a commission consisting of our Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs, and Slovene, Macedonian, and federal interior secretaries will carry out control; just control.

Those who will oversee the control—that is, the commission which will be outside [words indistinct] will be above those who are carrying out control—will be the so-called state commission, consisting of Vice President Branko Kostic as its chairman, the vice president of the Federal Assembly, federal secretaries, and so on. I demanded that Kostic be excluded from it because by visiting Borovo Selo, he joined not just outlaws, but those whose hands were stained with blood by shooting at Croatian policemen. That person—who immediately after visiting Borovo Selo said state terror is the only problem in Croatia, the man who has already proclaimed Croatia guilty—cannot be a member of such a commission.

Unfortunately, only Janez Drnovsek and I voted against his appointment; our attempts were in vain, we could not succeed. The question is how it will be possible to enforce a cease-fire when we hear about such clashes as this morning.

I believe a cease-fire will be broken and the war will continue until the army withdraws to the barracks, until this shield for outlaws is removed, and until we name the

aggressor to Europe and the world. Serbia is the aggressor, and Kostic is charged with expanding the territories of the Republic of Serbia at the expense of territories of the Republic of Croatia through this commission and by creating a buffer zone. He is not charged with implementing a cease-fire.

We cannot accept this. I therefore propose that the Croatian Assembly reject the commission headed by a person who wants to extend Serbia at Croatia's expense. Thank you very much.

Consultations on New Defense Minister Continue

AU0208140091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] We have just received a report from Zagreb that consultations are continuing between the president of the Republic of Croatia and leaders of the parliamentary opposition parties concerning the composition of the new government. Because of opposition from the Croatian Democratic Community's majority in parliament, Franjo Greguric, the new prime minister, has withdrawn the proposal to appoint Luka Bebic defense minister. We have learned that this proposal was opposed by the Dalmatian wing of the Croatian Democratic Community.

We have unofficially learned that Vladimir Seks and (?Ivan Milak) have been mentioned as defense ministers, but this should not be considered certain as no agreement has been reached. It also appears that the proposed opposition ministers are to be withdrawn again, even Zdravko Tomac as one of the vice presidents of the government.

Because of the consultations, the assembly session has, as we have said, been postponed until 1600 [1400 GMT].

Belgrade Daily Assesses Assembly Decisions

LD0508100791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0917 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 5 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade Daily POLITIKA today writes that, judging from the decisions adopted by the parliament of the Yugoslav republic of Croatia on Satuday, an all-out war should be raging today. In an article entitled 'to all-out war for fear of war', the daily POLITIKA writes that the Croatian Parliament took the 'decision in favour of war for fear of a war'.

POLITIKA writes that the republican 'parliament mostly concerned itself with the Army and the difficult problem of how it should be neutralized, since provocations to date had been shown up in all their futility, although the official Croatia takes umbrage if the Army resorts to arms in self-defence'.

The daily goes on to say that the Croatian leadership did not specify which 'parts' of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) are a 'force of occupation', and writes that the Croatian Parliament is unable to 'pinpoint any elements of the system of occupation, because such a system is non-existence'.

POLITIKA describes the republican parliament's demands for the army to return to barracks in Croatia as designed to bring about a 'state of affairs in which the Army would be denounced as one of occupation, while in fact its return to barracks would place it in a position of itself being occupied'.

Referring to the republican parliament's decision concerning the appointment of a commission to investigate crimes against the civilian population in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, POLITIKA wonders if 'this might not presage an end which might, by dint of fate, again bring before the face of justice the criminals against the (Serbian) civilian population, especially that section of the population which did not manage to cross the Danube'.

The daily writes that 'this is bound to happen some time, because if all the architects of the Jasenovac concentration camp had been brought to trial, the Croatia of 1991 would certainly not be happening'.

The Jasenovac concentration camp was the worst concentration camp in the fascist independent state of Croatia during World War Two, in which the Ustasha authorities of the quisling state brutally murdered more than 700,000 Serbs, Jews and Romanies.

Assembly Considers Freezing Relations With Serbia

LD0308101891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0840 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 3 (TANJUG)—A proposal was set out at the resumed Croatian parliament session today to adopt a decision on freezing relations with Serbia and proclaim a limited mobilization in Croatia to protect peace and legal security in crisis areas.

One of the 15 proposals said that the citizens of Croatia see the Yugoslav People's Army as an occupying force and that the parliament demands that it withdraw to the barracks and leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia in due time.

It is unofficially learned that the ruling Croatian Democratic Union and the opposition parties last night reached an agreement on coalition which will be reflected in the composition of the new republican government, about which the parliament is to decide today.

Croatian Assembly Endorses New Government

LD0308123291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1134 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Summary] Zagreb, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—The Croatian Assembly endorsed the proposal of Prime Minister Designate Franjo Greguric on a new Croatian government:

Franjo Greguric—prime minister
Milan Ramljak, Mate Granic, and Zdravko Tomac—deputy prime ministers
Enzo Tirelli—minister of energy and industry
Jozo Martinovic—minister of finance
Zvonimir Separovic—minister of foreign affairs
Gojko Susak—minister of immigration
Luka Bebic—minister of defense
Bosiljko Misetic—minister of justice and administration
Josip Bozicevic—minister of transport and communications
Davorin Rudolf—minister of navigation
Ivan Tarnaj—minister of agriculture and forestry
Vlatko Pavletic—minister of education and culture
Bernardo Jurlina—minister of labor and social policy
Petar Kriste—minister of trade
Ivan Vekic—minister of internal affairs
Ivan Cifric—minister of environment, urban planning, and construction
Andrija Hebrang—minister of health
Ante Covic—minister of technology and information
Zvonimir Baletic, Drazen Budisa, Ivan Cesar, Zivko Juzbasic, Vladimir Veselica, Muhamed Zulic, and Stjepan Zdunic—minister's without portfolio

Ministers of information and tourism have not yet been appointed.

Democratic Party Disagrees on Government Form

LD0308146591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—Marko Veselica, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Party [Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka], this morning sent letters to the president of the republic, the president of the assembly, and the mandator of the new Croatian government in which he says his party "cannot participate in the agreement of the Croatian parliamentary parties on the formation of the government of national unity."

According to the proposal by Franjo Greguric, mandator of the new government, Vladimir Veselica as representative of the Croatian Democratic Party should become minister without portfolio in this government.

The chairman of the Croatian Democratic Party, Marko Veselica, states in his letter that his brother, who is a member of the party, can become a member of the government "as an expert," but he emphasizes the "Croatian Democratic Party cannot support the nomination."

New Prime Minister Calls Serbia 'Aggressor'

LD0308155291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 3 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—We are at war and Serbia is the aggressor, said Franjo Greguric, new prime minister of the Croatian government, at a news conference this afternoon. He said that "the least that can be done is to freeze political and economic relations." He stressed that "this does not yet mean the end of relations or war."

Greguric noted that this measure "ought to ensure, by force, the start of negotiations and the realization of sensible agreements between the two republics."

In connection with the SFRY Presidency's decision on an unconditional cease-fire, Greguric said that Croatia's objection concerns the commission that will oversee the cease-fire, its composition, and capability. "Our position is that this commission must include representatives of the EC and of the other republics, with the exception of Serbia, because Serbia is encouraging the aggression of Croatia by sending its units and providing financial aid," said Greguric.

The new prime minister of Croatia announced that "a request was filed with the president of the republic for introducing appropriate alert measures in order that the republic's territorial integrity and sovereignty are protected." The prime minister also explained that these referred to 20 or so measures within a so-called second degree state of alert, but gave no further details.

Croatian Assembly Recognizes Lithuania

LD0308171891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1529 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 3 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today recognized the Soviet Republic of Lithuania as an independent and sovereign state and instructed the Croatian government to "establish comprehensive cooperation with the Republic of Lithuania."

Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan sent a telegram to president of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis informing him of the recognition.

"The Lithuanian parliament on July 30 adopted a resolution recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia," Domljan said in the Assembly.

Opposition Official Criticizes Tudjman, Serbia

LD0308162891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Interview with Bozo Kovacevic, deputy chairman of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, by Hajnal Mate; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mate] What is the position of the Croatian Social Liberal Party on the events in Croatia?

[Kovacevic] We disagree with the fact that Croatian President Tudjman selected his government only from his own followers and that the opposition parties have practically no say on the most important issues. Tudjman, for instance, treats the Yugoslavian crisis as if it were just a Serbian-Croatian conflict; therefore, he wants

to reach an agreement with them on every issue. In our opinion, this would be nothing but an agreement between so-called great powers, which would ignore the interests of the other republics.

In opposition to this, we seek a solution by establishing an alliance between small states, the guiding principle of which is the Serbian enemy image, because the aggressor is Serbia, which wants to takeaover territory from the other states in implementing a Greater Serbia. We can envision this so-called anti-Milosevic alliance with the participation of the Albanians in Kosovo, the Magyars in Vojvodina, and the Muslims in Bosnia.

[Mate] You imply that Tudjman is not very popular in Croatia.

[Kovacevic] Of course. Tudjman does not really know what he wants, and he does not accept advice from the opposition. Instead, he holds secret talks with Serbian President Milosevic on how to divide, for instance, Bosnia between themselves. The Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Army, however, are nothing but enemies of the Croatian people. The people have run out of patience and do not want to hold negotiations with the enemy. Of course, we appreciate that he tried the negotiations route, but the public is more and more of the opinion that he has not properly organized the defense of Croatia. Therefore, he has exposed the population to attacks from Serbian terrorists.

On the other hand, a nationalist-radical wing would like to put President Tudjman aside. We, the opposition parties, would be satisfied if we, too, could participate in the decisionmaking within a coalition government, and if the absolute power of the president ceased.

Zagreb Daily Says No New Agreement Can Help

LD0308211191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 3 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK says today that no new agreement extending the cease-fire from the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia to the troubled areas in the Republic of Croatia can resolve the situation in Croatia.

An EC ministerial troika, which yesterday met with Croatian authorities to discuss wider powers for the community's observer mission, this morning had talks with the Slovenian leadership. The EC ministers are now in Belgrade, where they are meeting with the Serbian leadership and federal government officials.

The talks should be followed by the signing of another agreement on the islands of Brioni tomorrow.

Vjesnik maintains that the second Brioni agreement "will not solve the question of aggression on the Republic of Croatia."

"The European troika simply cannot understand that Serbia is the last bastion of imperialism on the old continent," it adds.

The paper goes on to say that Serbia did not sign the first Brioni agreement "which shows that it is prepared for an open aggression."

On the Yugoslav side, the Brioni Declaration was signed on July 7 only by the Republic of Slovenia and Croatia, which had on June 25 unilaterally proclaimed secession from Yugoslavia, which was why Serbia refused to sign the declaration.

The document provides for a cease-fire in an armed conflict between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defence of the Republic of Slovenia and a three-month moratorium on Slovenia's and Croatia's decisions to secede from Yugoslavia, in order that conditions should be created for peaceful talks on the country's crisis. The talks should open by August 1 at the latest.

Zagreb Army Command Hopeful About Reshuffle

LD0408195591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Soldiers, officers, and civilians working in the 5th Military District are relieved that the more moderate and politically wiser attitude of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia toward solving the crisis in Croatia and Yugoslavia in a peaceful and democratic way has prevailed, the 5th Military District Command says in its statement dispatched to TANJUG.

The statement says: We maintain that the election of the government of democratic unity and some items presented in the program for the next 100 days raise hopes that the problems will finally start being solved.

It says that the members of the 5th Military District do not accept the demand voiced from the Assembly rostrum that the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] units return to their barracks without delay, as well as the fact that some parts of the YPA are declared an occupation force, because this is at odds with the SFRY Presidency's decisions of 3 August. Also unacceptable are the views voiced by some deputies in the form of demands that the YPA withdraw from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. This is all the more so, it is stressed, in light of the fact that YPA members are also the army of the Croatian people and that the YPA is ready to defend the entire population of the Republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia.

"In their zone of responsibility, the members of the 5th Military District have prevented on a number of occasions serious intranational confrontations which might have caused catastrophic consequences. However, the media is ignoring this or presenting it in an inappropriate manner," the statement emphasizes.

It says that the conclusions of the Assembly regarding the commander of the 5th Military District, Colonel General Zivota Abramovic, "are an unheard of insinuation about the resolving of the Kosovo crisis." It is also assesses that "this decision constitutes an extremely uncivilized and inhumane attack on his personality, moral integrity, and the duty he performs."

General Abramovic "has been consistently carrying out the decisions of the SFRY Presidency Supreme Command, including the SFRY Presidency's decisions of 3 August, and he will continue to do so," it was stressed at the end of the 5th Military District's statement.

Croatian Forces, YPA Clash Outside Belo Brdo

LD0308115391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—The information service of the First Military District has been authorized to announce the following statement:

"During the night of the 2 August, at around 2220, the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard of the Republic of Croatia brutally attacked from the direction of the village of Sarvas the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] unit that has been securing the approaches to the village of Belo Brdo. Following the warnings of the unit's officers to stop the mortar fire and, as several mortar shells had already landed in the vicinity of the unit and the lives of the YPA members were in danger, the unit returned fire. The action ended only just after midnight. There are no wounded among the members of the YPA," says the statement of the First Military District to TANJUG.

Croatian Forces, YPA Unit Exchange Attacks

LD0408073591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0632 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—On two occasions last night forces of the Croatian Interior Ministry and the national guard launched mortar attacks from the village of Sarvas on the positions and command of the unit engaged in preventing intra- national confilcts in the Bijelo Brdo region. The Yugoslav People's Army units launched a counterattack in which they sustained no casualties, reports the 1st Military District.

Army Attacks Villages; Sibenik Fighting Continues

LD0508012891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Fighting is under way in the Sibenik hinterland, between Skradin and Bratiskovci. Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] forces and the Nationa! Guard corps moved in to take those positions the Yugoslav Army suddenly abandoned in their move toward the Chetnik stronghold of Bratiskovci. They were fired at from infantry weapons and mortar. This fire was returned, forcing the Chetniks to retreat from Velika Glava village.

The Yugoslav Army this afternoon shelled MUP and National Guard forces in the neighboring village of Pamucara, damaging and destroying houses in Dubravice. The police authorities informed Knin Corps Commander General Spiro Ninkovic about the incident, to which Gen. Ninkovic replied that his soldiers had not opened fire. There is, however, evidence that the houses were destroyed by tank shells.

The following reports confirm that the Yugoslav Army shelters the Chetniks and provides support in all their actions:

First, military aircraft flew low over MUP and National Guard positions at 1730 [1530 GMT]. Four military aircraft shelled Croatian forces three times at exactly 1940 [1740 GMT]. Several bombs of limited destructive power were thrown on these occasions. The village of Rupe came under mortar fire one hour later, followed by an attempt by the Chetniks to advance from the village of Gorica toward Vacani. Two police vehicles and two houses were destroyed; two people were slightly injured in these clashes.

Two unidentified people opened a barrage of fire on Podravska Slatina police station at about 2300 [2100 GMT]. Osijek police report that the nearby barracks were also hit in the exchange of fire. Shortly afterward, a grenade was fired from the barracks on the police station, slightly injuring one policeman. The police station came under attack again at about midnight.

Croatian National Guard Commander Resigns

LD0308162691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—Retired General Martin Spegelj, who has been in command of the National Guard of the Republic of Croatia, resigned today for health reasons, Croatian radio and television reported this afternoon in its afternoon news bulletin. Quoting a communique from the office of president of the republic, Franjo Tudjman, the bulletin says that Franjo Tudjman has accepted the resignation of Gen. Martin Spegelj.

Dalj Fighting Leaves 'Scores' of Dead Policemen

LD0208164291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Summary] Dalj, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Since yesterday, the Slavonian village of Dalj, with a population of about 7,500, has been in the hands of the Serbs—the defenders of the Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, as they call themselves. A horrifying picture is seen in the very center of Dalj, near the police station, and also in the police building. Scores of dead Croatian Internal Affairs [MUP] men and policemen lay on the ground. It is estimated that in Dalj there are over 80 dead MUP members in the outlying village areas.

Boro Milinkovic, a member of the Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, says that fighting started when over 300 MUP members, stationed in Dalj, refused to surrender. Milinkovic says they even opened fire on the Army, which tried to prevent the clash. "At the moment, over 40 captured armed civilians who are Croatian Democratic Community members, National Guard members, and policemen, are being held. The defenders of Dalj and of Borovo Selo, Milinkovic says, intend to exchange them for Serbs captured by MUP forces during the past few months."

Osijek Residents Prepare 'Chetniks' Defense

AU0408193491 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1500 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Friedrich Orter report from Croatia]

[Text] The town of Osijek is beginning to make preparations for defending itself against an expected Chetnik attack. The town has been surrounded by Chetniks in the north and the east. The basement windows of apartment blocks are being secured with sand bags from the outside. In the basements make-shift air raid shelters are being established.

The Army is practicing psychological warfare: 17 tanks temporarily occupied the airport, which was supposed to be defended by members of the Croatian National Guard. A clear threat: At any time we can do with you the same thing as we did in the villages of Erdut, Aljmas, and Dalj, east of Osijek.

National Guard members who survived their missions and the massacre of the past few days told us that there must have been more than 300 dead and many injured civilians. Chetniks are said to have let their dead and injured lie in the streets.

On a hero's monument in the center of Osijek there are banners with symbols indicating how the people see the role of the Army here—banners with a red star and swastika.

Slovenia

Slovene Presidency on Situation in Croatia

AU0208165391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia held a session today. At the session, which was attended by Janez Drnovsek [Slovene representative in the SFRY Presidency], Franco Bucar [president of the Slovene assembly], Vane Gosnik [vice president of the Slovene assembly], Vitodrag Pukl, [vice president of the Slovene assembly], Lojze Peterle [president of the Slovene Executive Council], Igor Bavcar [minister of internal affairs], Janez Jansa [defense minister], Jelko Kacin [information minister], and Dr. Dimitrij Rupel [minister of foreign affairs], the Presidency issued the following statement on events in the Republic of Croatia:

The violence that is dramatically escalating daily in the Republic of Croatia—a result of the insane idea that in the modern world problems could be resolved in such a manner—is pushing this part of the world toward a great disaster.

Severe anxiety is increasing, along with a rapidly growing crowd of refugees, wounded, exiles, and dead—and all this in the name of anachronistic political illusions, that lack all reasoning, not the mention the spirit of modern society.

Therefore, we condemn such violence, regardless of whether or not it was caused by real or imagined reasons. If not in the name of past brotherhood, then we ask and appeal in the name of basic human dignity and responsibility for human lives that peace be immediately declared and restored in all of Croatia.

Our previous wars should have taught us that violence solves nothing; it merely inflames and breeds new, even worse, hostilities for many more generations. It denies people the basic right to personal happiness, and it also represents a great threat to modern society, society that rests on the fragile foundations of reason.

Therefore, the war in Croatia is presently the prime responsibility of the politicians in all Yugoslav republics. We demand that arms be immediately put laid down. The rest of the issues can be discussed and must be discussed after putting down arms, the statement of the Slovene presidency points out.

Kucan Doubts Milosevic Mandate Allowed Rejection

LD0408200891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—"Slovenia signed the Brioni Declaration in very unoptimistic conditions. However, it believed in European values. It believed that by signing the declaration Europe took on coresponsibility for the future of the Slovene people. If anyone wishes a European lifestyle for one's nation, one must accept the European style of negotiations." This was stated by Slovene President Milan Kucan in his statement for Radio Slovenia when assessing the failure of the talks today with the EC ministerial troika.

According to him, "what Europe offered in Belgrade was rejected by President Milosevic." Kucan went on to say that he did not believe that "Milosevic had the mandate of the Serbian people for that step," adding that "most probably this will be the subject of future discussions in Serbia as well."

Kucan on Negotiating Ties Within Country

LD0408142791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1314 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—President Milan Kucan of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia told Zagreb VJESNIK daily in an interview that his republic could

negotiate merely on the settlement of relations with Yugoslavia, not about its position within Yugoslavia.

"The federal government had delayed any such negotiations because its goal was to preserve Yugoslavia as it is now, rather than to hold talks on matters being raised by Slovenia," said Kucan and added that "Slovenia is not bargaining its position within Yugoslavia, but its relations with it."

According to Kucan, now, during the three-month moratorium "space is being opened up for Slovenia to try to arrange what could not have been arranged between December 26, 1990, and June 25 of this year, notably an agreement with the federal government on the ways of how to take over gradually the functions delegated by the previous constitution to the federal level."

Slovenia's citizens at their last December's plebiscite voted for independence and the republican parliament made a decision on this matter on June 25. This decision, through the EC, was placed under a three-month moratorium.

Kucan told VJESNIK that Slovenia had not become independent on June 25, "because that would change circumstances in economic life and otherwise and because it would contradict its decisions not to jeopardize the rights and interests of others."

Said Kucan, "Can all this be achieved in three months" time poses a question, but we, of course, do not think that this state of unpreparedness for talks may be postponed still further on after the expiration of three months."

Peterle 'Pessimistic' About Peaceful Solution

AU0308154791 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 3 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Wolfgang Boehm in Ljubljana; date not given: "Croatia Did Not Help Us Either"]

[Text] [Boehm] What is the Slovene Government's attitude toward the events in Croatia?

[Peterle] The escalation of the past few days is dangerous not only for Croatia but the entire country. Obviously, Croatia is not able to deal with this conflict. Not even the presence of the EC has had any success so far. The decisions of the State Presidency have not changed the situation either. Obviously, the objective is the realization of Greater Serbia.

[Boehm] Do you believe that a peaceful solution might still be possible?

[Peterle] I believe that these clashes will go on for a long time. Croatia will not permit Serbia to occupy the minority areas.

[Boehm] Is Slovenia, which recently had to struggle with similar problems, now willing to demonstrate solidarity with Croatia?

[Peterle] We signed an agreement with Zagreb that we would help each other if either republic was attacked by the Federal Army. Croatia, however, did not do anything when we had problems. Moreover, the war in Croatia is considerably different from the conflicts in Slovenia. In Slovenia it was a political war; in Croatia an ethnic one. We do not intend to interfere in an ethnic conflict. At the same time, it must be mentioned that Zagreb permitted the Federal Army to remain on its territory. We will indeed demonstrate solidarity, however, if democracy is at stake.

[Boehm] Here in Ljubljana antitank barriers and combat positions are still in place. Is Slovenia still afraid of attacks by the Federal Army?

[Peterle] A new attack cannot be ruled out. Some parts of the Army cannot be controlled. Nobody knows if they are preparing for further action. the Army leadership, however, probably supports withdrawal from Slovenia; this has already begun. At the same time, our soldiers are leaving the Federal Army.

[Boehm] What is your opinion of the establishment of a European task force to safeguard peace in Yugoslavia?

[Peterle] We would not oppose it; however, Serbia and the Federal Army have so far rejected such troops.

[Boehm] Do you believe that you now have sufficient support in West Europe for your independence?

[Peterle] We expect Europe to recognize our independence. We still have to make efforts, however, to understand our situation. At the moment, everyone is still telling us that they do not want to be the first to recognize us. Just as we had convinced several states, it was said that we have to take Brussels into consideration. In Brussels, we are told that they want to wait for the U.S. decision. The United States then wants to refer to the Soviet Union when making its decision. Moscow, unfortunately, takes Belgrade's position into consideration. There will be long discussions. I hope, however, that the idea that one must cling to the central state of Yugoslavia at any cost has finally been discredited.

[Boehm] When do you expect your independence to be officially recognized?

[Peterle] This may happen this fall after the end of the three-month moratorium.

[Boehm] Is it possible to resolve Yugoslavia's problems within this timeframe?

[Peterle] It is difficult to hold constructive negotiations while the fighting continues. At a time when two ethnic groups are destroying each other, one can only be pessimistic about the chances of a solution through negotiations. In any case, I hope that no one will force us to stay in this Yugoslavia.

[Boehm] What do you expect Austria to do?

[Peterle] I hope that Vienna will continue to pursue its active foreign policy and that your country will be one of the first to recognize Slovenia.

Serbia

Serbia Accussed of Blocking Agreement With EC

LD0408233191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, August 4 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav Presidency from the Republic of Slovenia Janez Drnovsek and Slovenian Presidency President Milan Kucan today blamed the Republic of Serbia and its President Slobodan Milosevic for the failure of the EC mission to Yugoslavia.

"It is clear now that Serbia blocked the agreement," Drnovsek told Slovenian radio.

He added that the Presidency members from Serbia and its provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo failed to appear at the Presidency session which was also attended by the EC ministerial troika, and that Serbian President Milosevic did not come for the expected signing of the agreement.

"All the others were present and ready to sign it," said Drnovsek, "and Europe and the world are now well aware of who is pursuing what policy in Yugoslavia, who is for peace and who is not, and where the real problem lies."

He said he hoped that the pressure from the Yugoslav and the world public would influence Serbia and that peace and an efficient control of peace would take place after all.

According to Drnovsek, Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic "is certainly one of the major obstacles to establishing a cease- fire in Croatia."

Croatia does not want Kostic, he explained, and stressed that the positions voiced by Kostic at the Presidency sessions and the joint session with the troika were one-sided to the extreme.

"He has made it clear that ws not the right person for the commission entrusted with such an important task as controlling the cease-fire in Croatia," said Drnovsek.

Slovenian President Kucan said that "if one wants the European- style life for one's people, one must acccept the Euroepan-style negotiations."

According to Kucan, "this was what Europe had offered in Belgrade too, but (Serbian) President Milosevic rejected it." "I do not believe that Milosevic had the Serbian people's approval for such a move and this will undoubtedly be the subject of future discussions within Serbia too," the Slovenian president said.

Jovic Accuses Croatia of 'Shameful Games'

LD0408191191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Shameful games are being played before the Yugoslav and world public designed to conceal the real situation in the Republic of Croatia and to hide and protect those responsible for the persecution of the Serbian people and the resulting civil war, Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, said in a statement for Belgrade TV and TANJUG in a comment on the talks with the EC mission.

The desire is, at whatever price, to insinuate that the Republic of Serbia is involved in the conflict and to hold it responsible for what the leadership of the Republic of Croatia and those who support its chauvinistic and secessionist policy are guilty of.

As you know, the SFRY Presidency adopted a decision on an urgent and immediate halt to the clashes in the Republic of Croatia. The very fact that all members of the SFRY Presidency from the republic of Serbia voted in favor of the decision on a cease-fire, while only the Presidency member from the republic of Croatia did not agree with it, is a sufficiently clear indication of who was interested in a cease-fire and in peace, and who wants the continuation of bloodshed, Jovic said.

At this session of the Presidency, he said, the completely unfounded accusations of Stjepan Mesic against the republic of Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] as those who caused the war in Croatia, were rejected. It is clear to everyone that these accusations are false, but with them an attempt is made to conceal at any price the fact that a war is being waged in Croatia between the Croatian authorities and the Serbian people living in this republic, just as there is a desire to conceal at any price the true causes of the conflict, which are to be found in the genocide oriented policy of the Croatian leadership toward the Serbian people living in this republic.

Dr. Jovic recalled that an EC ministerial mission has been in our country yesterday and today. At the last session of the SFRY Presidency it was decided that this mission would be received at 1200 today on behalf of the SFRY Presidency by four members of the Presidency, headed by the President of the Presidency Stjepan Mesic, and informed of the SFRY Presidency decision on a cease-fire, as well as of the views of the SFRY Presidency on the implementation so far of the memorandum concluded in Brioni. In this meeting at 1200 today, besides President Mesic, it was also decided that Branko Kostic, Vasil Tupurkovski, and Janez Durnovsek would take part. The other members of the SFRY Presidency, according to the decision of the Presidency, were to have met up at 1330 for a joint luncheon with the guests from the EC.

I do not know, Jovic went on, on what basis Bogic Bogicevic also came along to this meeting at 1200, so

that Stjepan Mesic had a favorable possibility when opening the talks to inform the representatives of the EC that only the members of the Presidency from Serbia had not come to the talks, setting out on this occasion the well-known unfounded accusations against the Republic of Serbia.

This transparent maneuver, as Jovic assessed it to be, had the obvious aim of - in front of the ministerial mission and via them also in front of the world's public - trying to show in a crude way that the Republic of Serbia is a factor in Yugoslavia which does not want talks and which, by virtue of this alone, could be to blame for the war in Croatia.

I believe that this, as well as the many other political manipulations aimed at concealing the truth, will be seen for what it is by our citizens and by the public at large.

Replying to a question from a journalist from Belgrade radio and television as to what further can be expected, in other words, what the SFRY Presidency can do, Jovic stressed that Yugoslavia is at a crossroads between war and peace and that the unfurling of events depends above all on Croatia. If it accepts our decision, peace, according to Jovic, is possible because "a little is necessary."

Specifying what this means, he said that Croatia should cease attacking Serbian settlements and sending its armed formations there, and cease attacking and provoking the JNA and recognize the right of the Serbian nation to self-determination including secession, just as this right is not disputed when it comes to the Croatian nation.

All these three things depend on Croatia, Jovic repeated.

To a question from a journalist: "What can be expected now assuming that an agreement on a cease-fire is reached," Jovic stressed that the question, to which an answer must be given is who is staying in, and who is leaving Yugoslavia.

Those who are leaving must regulate their departure in a constitutional way, Jovic explained. Both Croatia and Slovenia must go in a legal way, he specified, adding that they should seek this from the Assembly of Yugoslavia and that they can leave when a legal decision on this is made.

As regards the Serbian nation in Croatia, Jovic said that it alone should decide whether it wishes to leave Yugoslavia with Croatia or wishes to remain in Yugoslavia.

As is well known, Jovic pointed out, the Serbs in Croatia have decided to remain in Yugoslavia. If this is not respected, this will cause conflicts, Borisav Jovic concluded.

Chetnik Leader Discusses New Serbian Borders

AU0508100691 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Aug 91 pp 124-126

[Interview with Chetnik leader Vojislav Seselj by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Then We Will Take Everything"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] If you were the Serbian president, what would you do now?

[Seselj] I would immediately mobilize all Serbs, amputate Croatia in a blitzkrieg, and then inform the international community of the new Serbian borders.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where would these borders be?

[Seselj] The current Serbia, including the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, would have to include the republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and the Serbian areas of Croatia with the borders at Karlobag, Karlovac, and Virovitica.

[DER SPIEGEL] This would mean reducing Croatia to about one-third of its current territory.

[Seselj] To as much as one can see from the tower of the cathedral in Zagreb. If this is not enough for the Croats, then we will take everything. Of course, we will have to resettle those 200,000 Serbs who live in Zagreb and the 30,000 from Rijeka.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have threatened the Muslims from Bosnia if they formed a coalition with the Croats there. Would not resistance against occupation by Serbia be completely understandable?

[Seselj] The Muslims in Bosnia are Islamized Serbs, and part of the so-called Croats are Catholic Serbs. After the war, Tito forced 1 million Catholic Serbs all over Yugoslavia to profess being Croats.

[DER SPIEGEL] What if the Muslims resist their denationalization?

[Seselj] Then we will drive them out of Bosnia.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where?

[Seselj] To Anatolia.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where do you want to send the Macedonians, who also want to declare their sovereignty

[Seselj] We will not permit this. Macedonia belonged to Serbia even before the founding of Yugoslavia.

[DER SPIEGEL] What kind of state do you envisage for your independent greater Serbia?

[Seselj] In the past we supported the monarchy. We do not, however, approve of the behavior of Prince Aleksandar. He is giving too much praise to the Slovene and Croat democracy and, obviously, sees only bolsheviks in Serbia. Therefore, we have decided in favor of a republic.

[DER SPIEGEL] Could Yugoslavia continue to exist in the form of a confederation?

[Seselj] We are fighting for the abolition of Yugoslavia as a state. Nowhere in the world is there a confederation. Why should we be the guinea pig?

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you plan to conquer your future empire?

[Seselj] Our proposal was to sever Slovenia from Yugoslavia. This has been done. Now the Army must also withdraw from Zagreb to the border of the territory where Serbs live, and that line will be our western Serbian border.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are not worried by the 100,000 men of the Croatian police army [Polizeiarmee]?

[Seselj] You see how the Croats are falling apart, the rank and file. They are cowards; we are stronger. In Borovo Selo, 22 Serbs defeated 300 Croats.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you hate the Croats?

[Seselj] The Croats are not a historical people. Take the Germans and the Czechs. Czech is a synonym for coward, the Germans are a warrior people. The same holds for the Serbs and the Croats. The Croats are a spoiled people. I have never met a decent Croat.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you think of Croatia's President Tudjman?

[Seselj] Tudjman's regime is toppling. He may fall soon because he had losses on all fronts. The real numbers of the dead have not yet been published.

[DER SPIEGEL] Allegedly, many foreigners were also killed.

[Seselj] Mainly Albanians, from Kosovo. Most of them, however, return only as corpses. Tudjman pays 1,500 German marks per mercenary. This is a lot of money. My salary as parliamentary deputy is smaller. In addition, Kurds, Hungarians, Poles, and Germans are fighting in Tudjman's forces.

[DER SPIEGEL] This has been denied by the German Embassy.

[Seselj] At least 40 German military experts were killed during the attack on the missile bases two weeks ago, but they were probably not there at Bonn's order but were hired privately.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are commander in chief of your army of volunteers. What is your strategy?

[Seselj] I am a warlord [vojvoda]. I was awarded this title by the oldest living Chetnik leader, Momcilo Djujic from California. I organize the operations of our guerrilla organization and I determine the targets and places that have to be conquered.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, your troops are also attacking purely Croat villages?

[Seselj] No, we only defend Serbian villages.

[DER SPIEGEL] How strong is your army?

[Seselj] Strong enough!

[DER SPIEGEL] Where do you recruit the fighters?

[Seselj] They are all Serbs; many are exiles. When we send them to the front they take leave without pay from their companies.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do part of your weapons come from the Federal Army?

[Seselj] Yes, but only discarded German guns. Then we have Thompsons from World War II with a large caliber and much pressure [druck]. In Borovo Selo, an Ustasha member was hit in the head with such force that both his eyeballs popped out. The Croats claimed that we had mutilated his body.

[DER SPIEGEL] Have you also bought foreign weapons?

[Seselj] Of course, even in Hungary. We found a Hungarian minister whom we paid and who sent us weapons.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where are people fighting now?

[Seselj] We send them from Belgrade to the crisis areas. If there are 20 to 30 Chetniks in every village, this is sufficient to encourage the people there.

[DER SPIEGEL] A total of 80 percent of the soldiers in the Federal Army are Serbs. Why don't you let them defend the Serbs?

[Seselj] Because so far, this Army has not protected us. The military interferes only if Serbs fight against Croats. We retreat immediately if the Army appears. There are still some old communist commanders with prejudices against Chetniks.

[DER SPIEGEL] Doesn't it bother you that your radicalism will lead Serbia into isolation?

[Seselj] This would not be the first time in Serbian history. At the beginning of this century, Serbia survived a customs war waged by Austria and Hungary against us.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will you do if Europe or the United States help the republics that are threatened by Serbia?

[Seselj] If you like to die, do it! Then you demonstrate that you have not learned anything from history. We are experienced in guerrilla tactics; we are not Arabs, this is not Iraq. If foreign intervention takes place, we will kill them everywhere, wherever we find them.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is we?

[Seselj] The majority of the Serbs. The United States and Europe have finally lost our sympathetic feelings. They helped Croatia and Slovenia just because they are Catholic and we are orthodox. We will never forget the humiliation when three EC ministers forced the election of Croat Stipe Mesic at a meeting of the State Presidency.

[DER SPIEGEL] Didn't the West also help to free Eastern Europe from communism?

[Seselj] The communist regime was forced on Yugoslavia. Churchill betrayed Chetnik leader Draza Mihajlovic and King Petar by recognizing Tito. For half a century the West helped Tito and no one asked whether we had freedom and democracy and why we were in prison. Now, when we live in greater freedom then ever before, we are called bolsheviks.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you paid by Serbia's President Milosevic? It is said that in reality you are his henchman.

[Seselj] If I come to power, I will probably arrest Milosevic. As long as the Americans try to overthrow Milosevic by supporting the crazy Vuk Draskovic and the Micunovic's Democratic Party, however, I will help Milosevic. Serbia's policy must not be made in Washington.

POLITIKA: Slovenia Supporting 'Genocide'

LD0208143891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 2 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES on Friday accused the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia of "supporting an open genocide" over the Serbian people in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The Slovenian parliament on July 31 adopted a statement on the events in Croatia in which it notes that these events "in which the Yugoslav Army and Greater Serbian policy took part, were acquiring dimensions of a war of conquest."

The statement calls on the European public to "use [words indistinct], and also corresponding means, "so as to halt immediately a war which, as set out, "was directed also against the democratically elected authorities of Croatia."

POLITIKA EKSPRES assesses the Slovenian statement as "cynical and hypocritical," because as the paper notes, it reduces to the level of a "war for conquest"..."the struggle of [words indistinct] to preserve their age-old hearths and bare lives before the onslaught of the Ustasha phalanges."

Ustashas were members of the fascist armed formations of the puppet Quisling creation, the so-called Independent State of Croatia, on Yugoslav soil during World War Two.

The daily describes the statement of the Slovenian parliament as "neither being nor could possibly in any way representing a contribution to peace," but, as set out, "terrifyingly resembling the idea of forming the Fourth Reich."

Belgrade Paper Rejects Serb Autonomy in Croatia

LD0308221591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 03 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 3 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Friday assesses that the recent initiative of the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, that Serbs be given political-territorial and cultural autonomy in the republic, was "another attempt at deceiving."

"The most recent offer to the Serbs is an evident attempt at deluding the international and domestic public into prompt international recognition of Croatia," says the paper.

It points out that Serbs were sure to reject this proposal, which has come from a number of Croatian opposition parties, having in mind this republic"s decision on secession taken on June 25.

The paper sets out that the new proposal on autonomy of Serbs in Croatia ran contrary to "their democratically and legitimately expressed will" at the May 12 referendum to join the remainder of Yugoslavia, if the republics of Slovenia and Croatia secede.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI recalls that Serbs under the federal constitution formed a state with a right to self-determination, just as other country's nations. "As the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) came to power, the Serbs were last year deprived of this right and reduced to a status of citizens (of Croatia). In this way the Serbs were denied the right to self-determination," writes the paper.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI points up that the right to self-determination belonged to the nations within the Yugoslav and not within republican borders, since the second Yugoslavia (formed by Communists headed by Tito) came into existence when nations, and not republics - which did not even exist, joined together.

It recalls that the Serbs in the parts of formerly Vojna Krajina (now the so-called serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina) have for centuries enjoyed self-government and were a nation-building people - at both the time of the forming of the first (kingdom of Yugoslavia) and the second (present Yugoslavia), and that for this reason they cannot be a national minority in Croatia.

Yugoslavia alone is a sovereign state in terms of being a subject of international law, while the republican borders are administrative and do not come under international jurisdiction, writes the paper. It also reminds the readership about the CSCE principles under which in Europe external borders alone are being guaranteed, and that the Yugoslav Constitution states that the internal borders cannot be changed without the agreement of all the republics.

"The respect of these norms and principles should be resolutely insisted on by the federal organs and organs of the Republic of Serbia," writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Serbian Council Rejects Croat-Proposed Autonomy

AU0408194191 Crna Gora TVCG Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] The Serbian National Council of the Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem has issued a statement from Borovo Selo.

The Serbian National Council says in its message that it does not accept any offers to open up political and cultural autonomy for the Serbian people in Croatia. With its latest proposal on autonomy, the Croatian assembly is trying to legalize the borders of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the statement says. The aim, once again, would be to avoid paying war damages and at the right moment, which would be soon, to outlaw any Serbian autonomy and legally start the long-planned genocide of the Serbian people.

The Serbian people are aware of all the intentions of Ustasha ideology. The Serbian people will not deviate one inch from its declaration on autonomy or from its decision on its position in the Yugoslav state community. At the same time, the Serbian National Council suggests to the Croatian assembly, the Croatian leadership, and all Croatian ideologues that they not waste time thinking up any (?Latin tricks) on cohabitation as a substitute for life. Serbs have finally come to their senses: They realize that there can be no cohabitation with Croats under Croatian jurisdiction.

This was said at the end of the statement by the Serbian National Council of the Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

Democratic Alliance Favors Peaceful Resolution

LD0208112591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Pristina, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova], said today that Albanians do not want to take part in someone else's designs and be drawn into a general conflict that could be fatal for everyone.

Commenting on a claim made yesterday by [Croatian] President Franjo Tudjman in the Croatian Assembly that people are being killed in Croatia, and Kosovo is silent, Rugova stressed at a news conference that "there is no peace in Kosovo either." The leader of the largest political organization rallying Albanians from Kosovo also recalled that the alliance is in favor of a peaceful resolution of not just the Kosovo problem but also all other problems.

Rugova asked that the Army withdraw to the barracks, and then from Kosovo. He explained this demand by the fact that the situation is becoming more difficult. "The latest encircling of some villages in Vucitrn and Gnjilane on the part of the Yugoslav People's Army" contributes to this, he says.

Military Activities of Kosovo Alternative Outlined

AU0508073691 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Interview with NARODNA ARMIJA commentator Milan Drecun by unidentified reporter—recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Drecun, apart from the western front, a southern front is now being opened in Kosovo. The Kosovo alternative is well-armed and is preparing paramilitary formations.

[Drecun] Yes, the Kosovo alternative has armed its paramilitary formations with light automatic weapons and machine guns, as well as grenade launchers, bazookas, and mortars. Preparations are being carried out for buying heavy arms. Apart from that, aid is arriving from abroad. Younger and younger Albanians have recently been air-lifted to Skopje airport from Switzerland. So far, about 10,000 of them have arrived. They are trained for terrorist acts of sabotage, but also for military organization and they are meant to help start an armed uprising in Kosovo.

Otherwise, terrorist sabotage groups are coming from Albania. Several such groups have been discovered in the last few days. One of them was a quite large one of 273 Albanian citizens who will return to Albania when they have completed their task. There have also been two or three groups of Albanian soldiers who will also return to Albania on completion of their task.

Members of the former provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs are being armed in Kosovo. They are militiamen who quit or were dismissed from the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs. About 1,000 of them have camouflage uniforms and on their left arm they bear the sign of [word indistinct] and some of the uniforms are made in Osijek. So far, 1,000 uniforms have been ordered.

Otherwise, Albanian families have for a long time been maintaining these paramilitary formations. Those who have family abroad must pay 2,000 German marks each into the current accounts of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo in Zagreb or Switzerland.

On the Cicavica mountain, the village of (?Kozine) has been planned as the place where women and children, Albanian of course, will be evacuated if there is an armed uprising. A large amount of food and water, as well as arms, has been dispatched to this mountain, which all shows that this could be the headquarters of an armed uprising in Kosovo.

Otherwise, there are quite a few foreign instructors in Kosovo. This above all involves Albanian emigrants who are now returning to Kosovo and who were trained abroad by the intelligence services of some Western countries, above all the CIA, the German intelligence service, BND, and other intelligence services in Western countries. They are trained for diversionary terrorist actions and for military operations.

There are also intelligence services, illegal intelligence services of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and some other parties of Albanian national separatists. These intelligence services operate jointly with intelligence services within the Albanian emigrant organization and everything is under the

sponsorship of the secret Albanian police, Sigurimi, whose center collects all information.

It should also be said that Albania is also offering some kind of military help. Salih Berisha, president of the Democratic Party of Albania, has offered the isle of Sazan and the Valonski gulf to Americans as a base. There is obviously a political motive to this offer because pressure is expected to be exerted on Yugoslavia and possibly military aid or the thrust of American influence from this direction on parts of Kosovo, Montenegro, and the Sandzak.

Macedonia

Gligorov Speaks at National Day Meeting

AU0208123591 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] On the occasion of tomorrow's Macedonian national holiday, the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia organized a meeting of the surviving participants of the first Macedonian Assembly in Skopje today. Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, who was a participant in the first meeting of ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia], spoke at the meeting. He touched upon the situation preceding Ilinden in 1944 and spoke about how the decisions of the first ASNOM meeting later influenced the life [words indistinct].

Today's [word indistinct] of the present political situation is such that one can hear (?different) opinions about and challenges to these historic events, Gligorov said. However, according to him, the basic message of what happened in 1941, ASNOM decisions and everything afterward that prevented the Macedonian people from having their own state, [words indistinct] such a society that today cannot create everything that was in the past. Today we [word indistinct] two events, the revolution and the ASNOM decisions, that are characterized as crucial moments in the history of the Macedonian people.

The messages of the ASNOM have a modern topicality even today, President Gligorov said, and therefore we can really be proud that as a consequence we have the clear attitude of a people who after freeing itself from slavery knows the significance of respect for human rights, democracy, and more humane attitudes to other peoples and minorities. Today, however, by relying on the traditions of ASNOM, we are continuing the struggle for the spiritual, cultural, and economic development of the Macedonian people under modern conditions without [word indistinct] and without calling on the judgments of other peoples to solve our problems, but having in this respect the European commitment to the association and unification of peoples and the removal of borders, thereby solving those problems that other peoples were fortunate to have solved perhaps one or two centuries ago.

We would like to complete this (?current) process in the Balkans for national emancipation and the creation of one's own state, Gligorov said, not in a 19th century manner or even in a conservative way or through the belief that we need a Macedonian army with which we would destroy or change borders because in our opinion these borders are an anachronism and [words indistinct].

[words indistinct] participants of the first meeting of ASNOM including the oldest, 92-year old [name indistinct], and a delegation also laid flowers at the monument to the liberators of Skopje.

Tupurkovski Says Will for Peace Low

LD0408204591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency from the Republic of Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovski today told TANJUG that the "fact that the mission (to Yugoslavia) of the European Community's ministerial troika did not yield a concrete positive result indicates that the political will for peace is an extremely relative commodity and is not a trait in the characters of all the state and political leaderships in the country."

Referring to future cooperation with the EC, Tupurkovski said he expected it to continue and intensify.

Tupurkovski described as unrealistic both those who completely deny a need for the international factor to help resolve the crisis and war in Yugoslavia and those who maintain that an internationalization of the crisis is the only way to avert a catastrophe.

He said that "there is precious little goodwill (in Yugoslavia) to abandon absolutistic positions, which is turning the negotiating process into a traumatic experience, into an effort with an uncertain outcome." He warned that the situation "is slipping out of control" and that, precisely for this reason, Yugoslavia may very soon find itself "in the whirl of an ethnic and social war."

Tupurkovski went on to say that, for this reason, "it is necessary to activate at once the Yugoslav State Presidency's commission which should immediately address itself to establishing a cease-fire in (the Republic of) Croatia."

"The Presidency's decision on a cease-fire, which Croatia, too, has upheld, is at this time the only framework for constructive action," Tupurkovski stressed.

VMRO Calls For Macedonian National Guard

AU0208145891 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] The information service of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] issued a statement today stating that thanks to its reliable sources, this party has (?received information) about a

secret meeting and talks held between the representatives of the Macedonian and Serbian political authorities in which, regardless of the current situation Macedonia, is presented as part of a reduced Yugoslav federation.

In its statement, the VMRO-DPMNE says that (?it is about time) that a Macedonian national guard be established.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnian Statement on Draft Issues

LD0408114391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The Ministry of National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been informed that in the past two days some Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] unit commanders were adopting arbitrary measures of mobilization in contravention of the prescribed procedure and without any orders from the authorities (the Yugoslav Presidency and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense). This was particularly the case in the YPA unit formed in Han Pijesak, whose ranks are filled by conscripts from several municipalities, says yesterday's statement of the Secretariat for National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was not sent to all information media.

Requests for drafting the conscripts were submitted by some YPA units located in Nedzarice and Rajlovac.

The Defense Ministry is warning the municipal secretariats for national defense to strictly observe the prescribed procedure for drafting the recruits. The Ministry reminds them that—according to the procedure—mobilization orders are communicated via ministries to municipal secretariats for National Defense. In case of army training, draft calls must be handed to conscripts within a legal deadline, the Defense Ministry of Bosnia-Hercegovina stresses in its statement.